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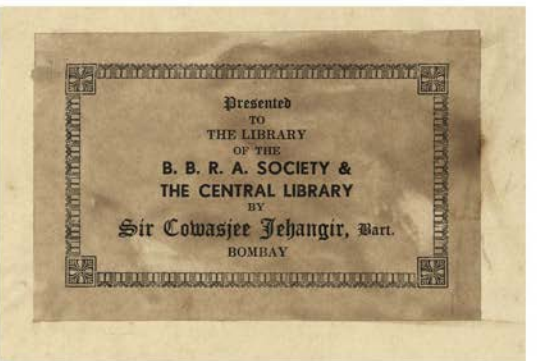

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THE MINIATURE PAINTING AND PAINTERS

OF

PERSIA INDIA AND TURKEY

VOL. I—TEXT

PLATE A

PORTRAIT OF SALADIN (?)

FATIMID SCHOOL

About A.D. 1180

THE MINIATURE PAINTING AND PAINTERS OF PERSIA INDIA AND TURKEY from the 8th to the 18th Century. VOL. I

By

F. R. MARTIN

LONDON

BERNARD QUARITCH

11 GRAFTON STREET, NEW BOND STREET, W

1912

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PREFATORY NOTE

INASMUCH as this book, for which I first began to collect material when at Bukhārā in 1894, is purely prefatory to a knowledge of a hitherto neglected section of art, I do not think that any Preface is requisite except in so far as it will enable me to proffer thanks to the three Scholars who so well prepared the ground on which I have built, viz., MM. N. Blochet, C. Huart and J. von Karabacek, and to the many collectors and friends who have so unselfishly given me permission to reproduce their cherished possessions. To one and all of them I give my heartiest thanks.

I have also to thank Professor T. W. Arnold for the extreme care he has exercised in transliterating the Oriental names in a systematic manner. Many of my readers in France, Germany and elsewhere will perhaps have a difficulty in recognising many of the names, but Professor Arnold has so far as possible utilised the system adopted by the International Congress of Orientalists at Geneva in 1894, which I hope will, in future, come into more general use.

I am also most greatly indebted to my friend Mr. E. H. Dring, whose name I should have liked to associate with mine on the title page. He has with never-failing care read and re-read the proof sheets many times, and although he has in some instances allowed my original expressions to remain, it has, I am sure, been in deference to myself. His knowledge of the subject and his carefulness have contributed far more to the book than he would allow me to express.

To Messrs. Waterlows the printers, their assistant Mr. E. A. Hyett, and their workmen, my best thanks are also due, for they never allowed their interest to slacken in a work which has been in their hands for about three years.

The manner in which Mr. Quaritch has carried out my wishes and in many cases even forestalled them, is without a parallel since the time of the Medicis.

F. R. MARTIN.

BELLOSGUARDO,

FIRENZE,

October, 1912.

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THE MINIATURE PAINTING

OF

PERSIA, INDIA AND TURKEY

CHAPTER I

Painting under the Fatimids and Abbasids

THE Arabs who conquered the ancient world were a simple race, without great artistic feeling or interests, and in order to avoid appearing too little civilised they retained in their service all the artists they found in their newly conquered empire.

These artists, who were nearly all Christians, could not immediately alter their style, but they certainly did their best not to irritate their conquerors by representing motives that were contrary to Arabian ideas. This is the explanation of the slow and very gradual change that Antique art underwent during the first period of the Muhammadan conquest. The quiet workers in art were the people least troubled by the invaders. They performed their allotted tasks and were well pleased with the large orders received from the new rulers.

The more closely Muhammadan art is studied, the clearer does it appear that it was only a natural development of the Antique, and it must be borne in mind that the now ruined monuments were in a state of good preservation at the time of, and long after, the Arab conquest, providing artists with models for their efforts for a far longer period than is perhaps realised. It was only at a later date that the Caliphs and their Amirs began to demand that work should be executed in a style more in accordance with their ideas of beauty and art, which by that time had become somewhat more

developed. The early rulers knew so little about such matters and were so busily engaged in subduing and reorganising their new dominions that they had little time to devote to art, and this is the reason why paintings of such an entirely antique character as those of Kuseir Amra[1] could have been executed so late as the beginning of the 8th century A.D.

The frescoes of Ajanta[2] have many features in common with the earliest Arabic painting, but I do not think that they influenced it in any way. Many scholars are inclined to consider these frescoes as the foundation of all Asiatic painting, chiefly, perhaps, because they are the oldest monuments of it now existing; but in my opinion the Ajanta frescoes and Arabic painting have their origins in the same source, the inexhaustible riches of Antique art.

Many details and motives in the Ajanta frescoes resemble much the later period of ancient art in Persia existing before what is generally termed Sassanian art. No one can deny the influence of the latter on the frescoes of Ajanta. The prince on his throne, as depicted at Ajanta, is quite Sassanian. It may be hoped that the publications which Mrs. Herringham and M. Goloubeff are contemplating will throw light upon these very complicated questions.

The fragments of Manichean manuscripts[3], with miniatures mostly dating from A.D. 600 to A.D. 900 found by Grünwedel and Le Coq at Turfan in Central Asia, seem to me to shew a very interesting mixture of late Antique and Chinese art. In some details Chinese influence seems to be quite dominant. The draperies and the colouring are almost the same as in the Ḥarīrī manuscript dated A.H. 733 (A.D. 1332) (*see* p. 9). In both cases the old colour schemes owe much to Chinese sources. The Turfan miniatures seem to be the most Eastern offspring of the later period of Antique painting of which we now have any knowledge, and certainly help us to form an idea of what the Fatimid painting was, which already had become influenced by Chinese art.

Of the ensuing four centuries (A.D. 700–1100) there remains absolutely nothing in the way of paintings; even richly decorated works of art, which might give an idea of the style of painting, are now extremely rare. The very fine Egyptian textiles[4] of the third to fifth century of the Hijra are for the greater part only decorated with Kufic inscriptions, and the pottery which has been discovered in such quantities at Raqqa[5], is either quite plain, or decorated with Kufic inscriptions and ornaments, which give no idea whatever as to the painting of the period, for they are mostly executed in but one or two colours.

In the celebrated palace of the Caliph at Sāmarrā, which was founded by the Caliph Mu'taṣim in A.H. 221 (A.D. 835), Yāqūt states that there were several wall paintings of extraordinary beauty, amongst others an extremely beautiful one representing a Christian church with priests[6]. Arabic authors[7] write about the famous peacock in enamelled gold with eyes of rubies, and of the gold enamelled tree with its birds which stood in the hall where Hārūn al-Rashīd received the ambassadors, and it is well known from the Arabian Nights that Hārūn al-Rashīd had in his garden at Baghdad a great hall called the "picture hall" on account of it being decorated with pictures in Persian style.

FIG. 1. PORTRAIT OF SALADIN.
From a manuscript written before A.D. 1185. F.R.M.

FIG. 2. PORTRAIT OF MULAI HAFID, SULTAN OF MOROCCO (*see* p. 11).

But fortunately, the protecting soil of Egypt has preserved fragments of pottery of such richness and variation in design that we can follow the development of design and ornament from the Antique through Coptic art.

When the Fatimids in the year A.H. 297 (A.D. 909) gained the ascendancy in Egypt, they immediately made their Shiite ideas paramount, the oppressed Copts began to breathe more freely, and these supporters of the ancient traditions became once more able to work and continue them. The extraordinary skill of the ancient Egyptians was retained by them in its entirety and is shewn in their art of weaving, their work in rock crystal, glass, and pottery, and their carving of wood and ivory. During the period of the former Arab dynasties they had had little opportunity of shewing their proficiency, and after the fall of the Roman Empire, and also during the Byzantine period, no ruler gave any attention to art, nor was the Church rich enough to make any large demands thereon. With the advent

of the Fatimids a true renaissance of the old Egyptian art commenced. When one reads Maqrīzī's description of the Treasury[8] of the Fatimid Caliph al-Mustanṣir Billāh A.H. 427-487 (A.D. 1035-1094) one perceives that it possessed a splendour far greater than any depicted in the Arabian Nights. The art of the Fatimid period was truly marvellous and fully justifies this description; for there is a refinement of execution and taste in those few art objects which have survived, that enable them to rank among the finest specimens that the East has produced. Of late years numerous fragments of an extremely refined pottery[9] ware have been found in the mounds of Fustat (ancient Cairo) and Ghouz in Upper Egypt. The figures and animals drawn upon these fragments with a marvellously sure hand, prove that worthy descendants of the ancient artists still existed. The portraits from Fayoum[10] in Egypt give evidence of the high degree of excellence attained during the later period of ancient art, and the fragments of pottery made six or seven centuries later would tend to prove that artists of the same quality still survived, even had Maqrīzī not written of a man named Abū Bakr ibn Ḥasan who died A.H. 365 (A.D. 975), at the commencement of the Fatimid era.

Maqrīzī also mentions others to whom he accords the title "ustād" or master, viz. :—Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf and Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad; while during the reign of the Caliph Mustanṣir Billāh, an artist named Ibn 'Azīz from 'Irāq was summoned to Egypt by one of the ministers of the Caliph al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī al-Bāzūrī to compete with Qaṣīr from Bassorah. Each was to paint a girl dancing in an arcade of a palace that was being built for al-Bāzūrī. Qaṣīr painted the girl dressed in white on a black background so that she appeared to be retiring from the spectator, whereas Ibn 'Azīz depicted her clad in a red veil on a yellow background in such a natural manner that she seemed to be walking out of the frame.

M. Karabacek[11] states that in Kerāfa near Cairo there existed a wall picture painted by al-Kitāmī representing Joseph at the well. This picture was celebrated on account of the extraordinary freshness of its colour, especially of the naked body shewn against the background of the well.

Sculptured decoration was also used in the palaces of the Caliphs. The Ṭūlūnid Amir Khumārawayh built, A.H. 282 (A.D. 895), a superb hall in his palace at Cairo, decorated with gold and blue and the statues of himself, his wife and of the court-singers. These figures, half as large again as life size, were most beautifully carved in wood and painted, and had crowns of pure gold or jewelled turbans. They were almost the last descendants of the old Egyptian monumental sculpture. The Fatimids used small statuettes and figures of lions, elephants, giraffes and gazelles to adorn their tables, just

as in the present day similar articles of Copenhagen porcelain are used. The Caliph al-Āmir bi Aḥkām Allāh, who died A.H. 524 (A.D. 1130), built at Birkat al-Ḥabash, in the neighbourhood of Cairo, a Belvedere of lacquered wood decorated with portraits of his favourite poets.

The relations between China and the Muhammadan world date from the very beginning of the Muhammadan era. In the 7th and 8th centuries there was a greater intercourse between the commerce of the East and the West of Asia than is generally thought.

In the 9th century great Muhammadan colonies were established in China, and Mas'ūdī, the famous traveller, who was there in A.H. 333 (A.D. 944), gives a great number of interesting notes about the Chinese places where Arab traders had settled. Bassorah at the mouth of the Euphrates

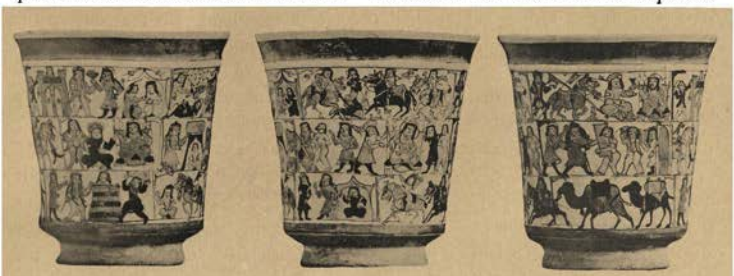

FIG. 3. GOBLET IN FAIENCE.
13th century, found at Raghes. Tabbagh frères, Paris.

and the Tigris was the great centre of the commerce of the whole of Asia. Siraf and Hormuz, also on the Persian Gulf, played a great rôle, and Aden began early to be the intermediate port for the Egypto-Chinese commerce. Already in the 9th century Chinese junks manned with 400 to 500 sailors sailed to these ports, and Muqaddasī states that Aden was called "Dihlīz al-Ṣīn," the Hall of China, and that the Persian Gulf was then called the "Chinese Gulf."

As in Europe during the Middle Ages Saracenic art products were held in great estimation, so the Arabs valued the art objects of the Chinese more highly than those of any other nation. Mas'ūdī[12] writes that in the 9th century nothing was more fashionable for wedding presents than "Laṭā'if al-Ṣīn," *i.e.*, beautiful things from China, and Chinese objects were called "Ẓarā'if," *i.e.*, elegant things, just as in the present day Parisian work is recognised throughout the world as being the acme of elegance and delicacy. The Chinese in the eyes of the Arabs were the greatest artists of the world,

surpassed by no others. The Franks were considered barbarians. China produced unequalled models in painting and sculpture. Even late in the Middle Ages when the people of Western Asia had developed great skill in the crafts and in art, the Persian poets still praised the Chinese. In the treasuries of the Fatimid Caliph al-Mustanṣir in the 11th century lengths of Chinese silks were found and I am convinced that the Chinese tapestry work, which in fineness is far superior to the best French, is derived from the already then world-famous Fatimid tapestry work of Egypt.

Mas'ūdī is a never failing source for information about old Arab art. We owe to him a story which is of the utmost importance in the history of Asiatic art and proves that Chinese pictures were on sale in the bazaars of the East in the 10th century. A Chinaman had painted a picture on silk representing a bird perched on a straw. It was exposed for a long time in the bazaar and every visitor thought the drawing extraordinarily natural until one day a man passed and criticised it openly. The painter took him to the Sultan, who asked him what was wrong with the picture. "Everyone knows that a bird cannot perch upon a straw without it being bent by the bird's weight. The artist has painted the straw straight and put the bird thereupon." The poor man was right and the artist obtained no redress. This description seems to refer to a picture of the Sung period, when birds were the favourite objects for painting. Probably the Fatimid treasury contained masterpieces of the earliest Chinese paintings. The great painter Li Lung-mien was contemporary with the Fatimid Caliphs when they were at the height of their power. In any case, the Fatimid school of painting shews in certain details an absolutely Chinese influence—for instance, the faces with the nose drawn with one line—and it may be summed up as being a mixture of Greek, Coptic and Chinese art.

Let us hope that the soil of Egypt will at some future period reveal further surprises in the shape of masterpieces of Fatimid painting, which was certainly perfect in its style. We know that in their treasury there existed woven portraits of the princes of former dynasties. A few woven portraits[13] of the time of the Copts (several centuries earlier) give an idea of the degree of art that had been attained, and these lead me to believe that miniatures and other paintings of a very high quality were executed for the Arabs though not a single contemporary specimen is now known. Plate 14 shews some portraits certainly copied from much earlier originals, as they correspond with descriptions given by Arabic authors.

After the fall of the Fatimids in A.H. 567 (A.D. 1171), the artists who had been in their service found no further employment in the service of

وبعضهم من يهرب من النور ومنهم من يستلذه
ومنهم من ينبح مثل الكلاب وبعض من اقترب منه نصبه
تلك ايضا وقد ذكر ناس انهم راوا انسانا او انسانين عضا فانفلنا

صوره كلب
قد عض انسانا.

وان اودموس انتسلى بهذه الآفه ويسوق وان احدهما عض وانسلى
بهذه البليه وخلص ع ع ع ع ع
واما الآخر فكان خالسا مع صديق له خاف المآل فلاذ مان

Page from a Manuscript of Dioscorides

BAGHDAD SCHOOL

Dated A.H. 619 (A.D. 1222)

the Sunnite Ayyūbids, who were more interested in warfare than in art. The artists left the country which no longer appeared to appreciate their work and talents, and settled in Syria, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Persia, Sicily, and Spain, thus diffusing their skill through the entire Muhammadan world and even into Christian countries.

Since great luxury prevailed in the decadent Caliphate at Baghdad, some of these artists obtained work there, and thus transplanted to Persia the ancient traditions of Egypt. Some also found employment among the smaller dynasties of Mesopotamia, where the traditions of Antique art had been preserved longer than in other countries, as is proved amongst other things by the coins which bear antique representations, which would not have been tolerated by a population with strong Sunnite prejudices. The richly figured pottery of the beginning of the 13th century that is found at Raghes (Fig. 3) owes its origin to Egyptian pottery of the time of the Fatimids, though this is of far finer quality both in regard to drawing and clay.

Fortunately we are not entirely dependent on such fragments in order to form an idea of the art of painting during the time of the Caliphate. Some manuscripts with miniatures of this period, though their number is not very large, have been preserved to our own day in the East and in the libraries of Europe, which from an early date have been eager to possess such treasures. One of these manuscripts has occupied a nook in one of the most ancient libraries in Europe, the Imperial Library at Vienna, since the close of the 16th century.

The oldest known specimens of Arabic miniature art are found in some leaves that belong to a manuscript which comes from one of the libraries in Constantinople[14]. It bears the name of the Ortuqid Sultan Nūr al-dīn Muḥammad, who died in A.H. 581 (A.D. 1185), while on other leaves is written the name of Ṣāliḥ Ṣalāḥ al-dīn [Saladin?] (Plates 1–4), and the frontispiece of this work shews the colour harmony.

Next in age comes another fragment of an Arabic translation of the Materia Medica of Dioscorides[15] which bears the date A.H. 619 (A.D. 1222), and was written and illustrated by ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl (Plates 5–7). Coloured plate B is a good specimen of the simple colours used by the Abbasid school.

The most important in every respect is the famous Hariri manuscript[16] in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Arabe 5877), which was acquired after the decease of Mr. Charles Schefer. This manuscript contains 96 miniatures. It was copied and illuminated by Yaḥyā ibn Maḥmūd ibn Yaḥyā ibn Abī ʾl-Ḥasan ibn Ḳuwarrihā al-Wāsiṭī (Wāsiṭ was a city of great importance between Bassorah and Kufa), who finished his work in the month of

the Sunnite Ayyūbids, who were more interested in warfare than in art. The artists left the country which no longer appeared to appreciate their work and talents, and settled in Syria, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Persia, Sicily, and Spain, thus diffusing their skill through the entire Muhammadan world and even into Christian countries.

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Ramaḍān A.H. 634 (A.D. 1237), and although in a rather bad state of preservation and repaired (for the most part badly) at various periods, it is of the very utmost importance for our knowledge of Arab art and life during the Caliphate. Without these miniatures (Plates 9–12) our acquaintance with these remote times would be but scant and poor. This manuscript is to the East what the Bayeux tapestry is to Europe. There are two other copies of Ḥarīrī, with inferior miniatures in a bad state of preservation and of much smaller interest, in the same library. One (Arabe 6094) is dated A.H. 619 (A.D. 1222), the same year as the Dioscorides above-mentioned. The other (Arabe 3929) is without date, but according to M. Blochet was probably executed in Syria about A.D. 1270.

FIG. 4.
TWO PHYSICIANS.

From the Galen manuscript at Vienna. About A.D. 1250.

A copy of Kalīlah wa Dimnah in the same library (Arabe 3765) has about eighty miniatures of great character.

The miniatures in a treatise on astrology by Nāṣir al-dīn Muḥammad, dedicated to the Saljūq Sultan of Rūm, Ghiyāth al-dīn Kai Khusrau III, A.H. 666-682 (A.D. 1267-1283), in the Bibliothèque Nationale, may be considered as copies of Byzantine originals.[17]

The Ḥarīrī of the British Museum (Add. 7293) is a very large copy containing a few sketches of the most extraordinary kind, several obliterated miniatures and many blank leaves (Plate 8). Two other copies of the book in the same library are of very common quality and of little interest from an artistic point of view.

It is said that a very rich and fine manuscript of this kind exists at Palermo, but I have not been able to find out its owner. In the old libraries of Milan, Venice, Florence and Rome, nothing of this kind seems to be known.

The Manāfi' al-Ḥayawān by Ibn Bakhtīshū' in the British Museum (Or. 2784), is of the very greatest interest and importance. It contains numerous drawings of animals of the most remarkable and life-like character (Plates 17–20).

Fig. 5. Bird.
From the Manāfi' manuscript in the British Museum. About A.D. 1250.

The Imperial Library at Vienna has an imperfect Arabic translation of Galen (No. 1462), with most interesting miniatures in a good state of preservation (Plates 13, 14, and Fig. 4), also a copy of Ḥarīrī (No. 372), with miniatures in such perfect condition that they look as if they had been completed by the artist but a few days ago. Although executed at so late a date as A.H. 733 (A.D. 1332), they are nevertheless in the style that prevailed during the Caliphate, mixed with some Mongolian characteristics (Plates 15, 16).

The Khedivial Library at Cairo has but one manuscript with miniatures, which in comparison with the aforementioned works are of little interest and of poor execution.

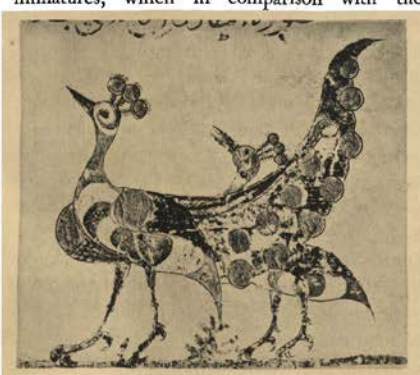


Fig. 6. Peacocks.
From the Manāfi' manuscript in the British Museum. About A.D. 1250.

Although for the past fifteen years I have been trying to discover more manuscripts of this kind, none of my agents in the East have been able to find a single one, and I fear there is not much hope of any more of this early style being discovered, though there may, perhaps, be some hidden away in European or Oriental libraries.

There is little probability of similar manuscripts being obtained from Orientals, as not only are they highly prized, but the miniatures, owing to the peculiar delicate medium used for the colours, are easily affected by the damp air in the dark recesses of an Oriental library[18]. Fragments may however still be buried in the sandy deserts of Central Asia. China, which has already astonished us by producing many an Arab glass vessel of the Caliph period, may perhaps one day surprise us by sending over such a manuscript in good condition. The earth of Egypt, that land of miracles, may still keep such a treasure.

I must also mention here a manuscript of Kalīlah wa Dimnah which was executed a few years after the Conquest of Baghdad, though, perhaps, in point of view of style, it belongs rather to the next chapter of this work. It is dated A.H. 660 (A.D. 1262), and is one of the extremely rare manuscripts that have survived from the library of the Ghaznavids. It now belongs to Mr. Dyson Perrins (Plates 40, 41).

Oriental sources mention but few painters of the 12th century. Ṭughril, a Saljūq prince (son of Arslān Shāh, A.D. 1161–1177), who reigned from A.D. 1177–1194, employed a painter, Jamāl, from Ispahan, to paint the portrait of every poet quoted in the collection of poetry composed by Zain al-dīn Rāwandī, and copied by the prince's own hand. Under each portrait the prince wrote some verses, this being a somewhat similar arrangement to that found in the Galen manuscript of the Imperial Library at Vienna (Plate 14), executed a century later, in which at the side of each portrait of the nine most celebrated physicians of Greece, the name is written in golden letters.

There are no remains of the Fatimid art of painting that can with certainty be said to have been executed in Egypt, but some idea of it may be gained from the miniatures reproduced on Plates 1–4, from the manuscript mentioned on p. 7, made for Nūr al-dīn Muḥammad, the Ortuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kaifa (A.D. 1174–1185), who was the second successor of the Sultan during whose reign one of the most important specimens of Oriental art, the celebrated bowl[19] in cloisonné enamel at present in the Museum Ferdinandeum at Innsbruck, was executed.

Most of these leaves[20] (Plates 1–4) represent automata in the form of figures such as were so highly prized by the Arabs, and descriptions of which are found in the Arabian Nights Entertainment. It was an automaton that Hārūn al-Rashīd presented to Charlemagne. A few of the miniatures represent scenes from street life in Cairo. Thus, on one leaf, musicians are represented sitting in a doorway, on the walls of which the arms of a sultan—a golden eagle on a red ground above a golden cup on a blue ground—are depicted.

For the history of painting in the East, the miniatures of the manuscripts above named are of the greatest importance, for they hold a similar position as the European woodcuts of the 15th century occupy in the history of graphic art. All nations make their first steps in art in the same manner. The first caricatures in woodcut of the dethroned pashas, during the Turkish revolution of 1908, were executed in the archaic style of the first woodcuts of the 15th century. Mankind is everywhere the same, and development invariably takes the same route; it is merely the degree of speed or the form that varies.

The coloured Plate A is the oldest and almost the only Arabian portrait drawn from nature that we have of the Caliphate period, and according to tradition represents Saladin, the great antagonist of the Crusaders. The sultan is depicted seated on a golden throne, with his legs crossed, dressed in a dark red caftan, the stuff being of a very large pattern (invariably a sign of exalted rank) in a lighter shade of red. On the sleeves he bears broad gold borders, so-called ṭirāz. The green turban of the Prophet adorns his head, a broad ṭirāz being inserted in the turban, while round the head there is the usual golden halo, the origin of which no one has yet been able to explain satisfactorily. It is evident that the artist intended to represent a most exalted personage, and every connoisseur of painting will at once acknowledge that it is a portrait and not a work of imagination. However plainly and quickly it may have been executed, it has qualities that only a great artist could give. It is an instantaneous portrait of the ruler it represents. The drawing is very like Rodin's, especially the hands, which the great French master draws with equal rapidity and in the same manner. In order to convince those who may doubt that this is the portrait of a great Oriental ruler, I reproduce an instantaneous photograph of such a personage, Mulai Hafid of Morocco, taken a few years ago for "l'Illustration" (Fig. 2). It is scarcely possible to imagine a more striking example of how long-lived are certain traditions in the East. Between the dates of the execution of these two portraits a period of eight hundred years has elapsed, the Mediterranean lies between the countries of their origin, and yet they might apparently have been made at the same spot on the very same day. If the old Arabian artist had seen Mulai Hafid, he would probably have represented him in precisely the same manner. Saladin was the greater man, but in reality both possessed the same characteristics.

This is the usual way of representing the Caliph sitting on his throne and I think the Fatimids obtained this style from the Sassanians. The earliest Arabic artists were certainly very much influenced by Mesopotamia, though,

perhaps, not so much as many scholars are inclined to believe. The influence came from many directions.

In vain have I sought to discover a description of Saladin's personal appearance in order to verify the correctness of the tradition; but I imagine it will be just as difficult to prove that the tradition is unfounded. All persons who allow themselves time to examine this portrait closely must acknowledge that it is a remarkable work of art. It is said that Orientals do not paint portraits from life, but that they study the model for some time without making any sketches, only now and again visiting the model in order to control the correctness of the lines they draw from memory, the result being an ideal representation of the person painted. This may perhaps explain why Oriental portraits appear far more monumental than those of the West. However, notwithstanding its broad monumental style, this portrait is evidently drawn from nature, probably in the space of a few minutes, but after long meditation.

In my opinion support is given to the correctness of the tradition by the fact that several of the other miniatures have written on them the usual formula: "Praise be to the Sultan," etc., etc., and mention the name Ṣāliḥ Ṣalāḥ al-dīn. M. Blochet, who has seen some of these leaves, but not the one bearing the Kufic inscription in honour of the Ortuqid Sultan, Nūr al-dīn Muḥammad, is inclined to ascribe them to Ṣalīḥ Ṣalāḥ al-dīn, the Mamluk Sultan who reigned in Egypt from A.D. 1351 to 1354. The great Saladin, however, who was born in A.D. 1137 and died in A.D. 1193, was contemporaneous with the Ortuqid sovereign who is named in the Kufic inscription. Inscriptions composed in honour of a sovereign who has been dead a couple of centuries are unknown to Orientals, and are opposed to their ideas. It is, therefore, my conviction that M. Karabacek is right in concluding that these miniatures date from the close of the 12th century. As the manuscript was executed in Mesopotamia it is probable that the scribe did not know the protocol titles of Ṣalāḥ al-dīn, especially as these inscriptions are rather of a decorative character, being written on the cupolas of the buildings depicted in the manuscript. The style of the miniature is more archaic than that of any existing miniatures of the 14th century. The paper, too, of an early Baghdad quality (a point not to be despised), indicates a far greater age. Moreover, it would indeed be strange if nothing of the Mongolian style had crept into a work executed in the middle of the 14th century. The ornaments on the buildings are just those that were in use at the commencement of the Ayyūbid period, or the last years of the 12th century.

The fifteen manuscripts I have mentioned above, with their four hundred miniatures, present an extremely rich and varied image of life in the 13th century. Our knowledge of the Caliphate period would indeed be poor without them, since they provide inexhaustible material for studying life and culture as then existing—life in town and in the country, in peace and in war, at a time not so very distant from that of the "Arabian Nights" and the wonderful world depicted therein. They give living pictures of the kaleidoscopic scenes of Baghdad, and depict all the phases of life from parturition to death with a truth, vivacity and fidelity to nature that is without parallel in the history of European art during the early Middle Ages. As a source of knowledge of the Arabs and the East during the Middle Ages, Schefer's "Ḥarīrī" is invaluable, and its great importance cannot be sufficiently or too often insisted upon. It really deserves to be published in facsimile, as it is the most important contribution to our knowledge of an epoch that was one of the most superb that ever graced our planet, and one of which scarcely anything is left. To many, more especially those who have not resided in the East, these representations will doubtless appear strange or even incorrect. Some may declare that it is Byzantine art. But has a Byzantine artist ever created anything so true to nature? Everyone who has been in the East knows that this is a faithful representation of it; observe, for instance, the brilliant delineation of the crowds, where Arab stands close beside Arab, and head beside head, and how exactly the small shops resemble those still found in bazaars unaffected by Europeans! With what superb artistic knowledge are the animals depicted, not only singly but also when they are grouped together! Then, again, each human face is characteristic, as is also the very movement of the hands. On turning over the leaves of the manuscript, unfortunately cruelly treated by time and bad restorations, the entire period of Hārūn al-Rashīd rises to the mind's eye. Even now, after several unsuccessful restorations, they have the effect of the most charming symphonies in colour that I have ever seen. Originally they must have possessed a splendid wealth of colouring. These artists were colourists by the grace of God.

In my opinion the artists of Mesopotamia and Syria were only to a very small extent under the influence of Byzantine art, and this influence reveals itself more in the colours which they used than in the style of drawing, which is much more lively and purely Oriental.

It was these artists who drew the splendid ornaments on glass vessels that are now so highly valued. Few glass vessels[21] are known for a certainty to date from the 13th century, but in Egypt numerous fragments of

much earlier enamelled glass have been discovered. Aided by these miniatures and the fragments found, it is possible to form an idea of glass which in richness far surpassed anything yet seen in museums or in the treasuries of any mediaeval cathedral; and yet I feel convinced that Schefer's Ḥarīrī was not a manuscript specially made for the Caliph, but simply an ordinary edition. What a marvel the Caliph's own copy must have been!

The sketches for these miniatures excite unlimited surprise. They are extremely rare, and the only few known are in the unfinished copy of Ḥarīrī in the British Museum (Add. 7293). Is not the drawing (Plate 8) worthy of Rembrandt? Does it not appear to be the Boy Christ disputing with the doctors in the Temple? How full of character are those cunning old Arabs! With a single stroke of the brush the artist has infused life into the face, and into the movements or gestures of the hands. The types may appear to many to be somewhat caricatured or exaggerated, but they are true representations of Arabs. Their appearance was such in the time of the Founder of Christianity, such twelve hundred years later, and has not changed to the present day.

Nor was it only human beings that the Arabs depicted so well. They were perhaps still closer observers of animals and the distinguishing traits peculiar to each of them. Observe the excellent drawing of the calm good-nature of the bear, the peculiar swaying gait of the camel, and—I had almost written the chirping of the birds. All this they endowed with a wonderful decorative effect to a degree almost unknown in Europe, and it remained in the East as a relic of the sense of form that prevailed in Antique art. Unfortunately, similar representations of animals are much rarer than other subjects and I know of but one manuscript containing them, the Manāfi' manuscript in the British Museum (*see* p. 9), in which the animals are superbly drawn (Plates 17–20). It is a most precious document and ought to be reproduced in its entirety. Trees and plants are represented with a decorative style which is widely different to the Byzantine stiffness and prosaicness. These Arabic drawings of plants are very similar to those of the Antique to be found in the famous 5th century Dioscorides manuscript[22] in Vienna, and afford one of the numerous examples of how everything lingers on from age to age in the East.

The Kalīla wa Dimnah dated A.H. 660 (A.D. 1261), belonging to Mr. Dyson Perrins, already mentioned, shews animals drawn in a totally different style, Chinese influence having in this case become paramount. The outlines are entirely Chinese, though the colours are Arabian. This may be explained by its having been made for a Ghaznavid sultan, whose countrymen came

into contact with the Mongols at an earlier period than the inhabitants of the western part of Persia, where the Manāfi' manuscript was written.

If we glance at the art of painting in Europe during the 13th century we must acknowledge the superiority of the Orientals, and yet these miniatures are probably only copies of originals of the Arabian renaissance (based on ancient Egyptian lines), which flourished during the Fatimid dynasty in Egypt. Everything that is inessential is thrown aside. Only the important and indispensable lines are given and the great blotches of colour are thrown on in a manner entirely impressionistic. As I have stated, the portrait of Saladin is evidently an instantaneous one, made by a man who was bound by the rigid rules of no academy but who had at his finger tips and in his eyes an ancient tradition, a tradition that was derived from the most glorious days of Egyptian, Greek and Chinese art.

In A.D. 1258 Baghdad was destroyed, and the Mongols brought a new art, the art of the Far East, into the sphere of the Near East.

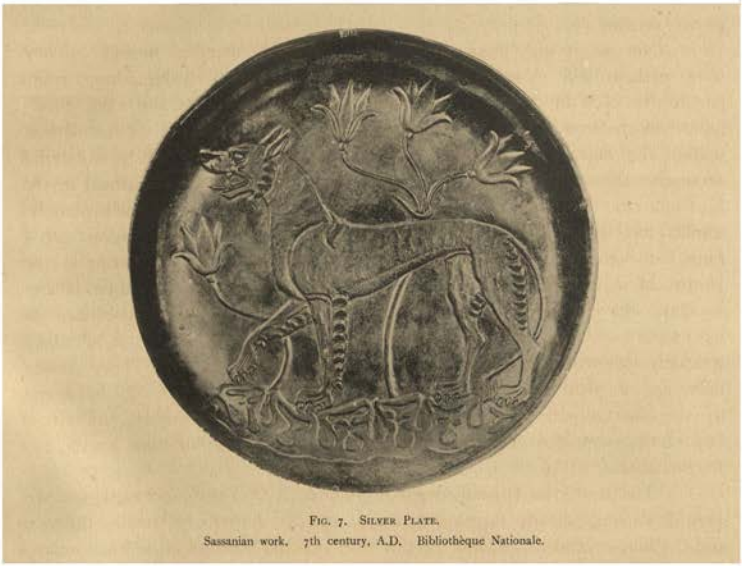


FIG. 7. SILVER PLATE.
Sassanian work. 7th century, A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale.

CHAPTER II

The Mongol Period

L'HISTOIRE de la peinture en Perse ne commence guère qu'avec le XIII^e^ siècle, après la chute du Khalifat orthodoxe de Bagdad et la ruine définitive de l'équilibre du monde musulman. Tant qu'elle fut sous la domination des généraux que les Abbassides lui envoyaient pour la gouverner, et surtout pour essayer d'étouffer en elle toute velléité d'indépendance, puis sous celle des dynasties locales qui secouèrent le joug des khalifes, elle vécut d'une vie trop agitée et trop instable pour que les arts y pussent trouver un terrain favorable à leur développement. Divisée et morcelée en royaumes aux frontières mal définées, dont les dynasties, Saffarides, Bouyyides, Samanides, Ghaznévides, ne songeaient qu'à se faire d'interminables guerres pour s'arracher quelques provinces, la Perse ne recouvra son unité que le jour où l'Ilkhan Houlagou l'eut conquise au nom de son frère Mank-kou-Kâân, empereur de la Chine et suzerain de tous les clans de l'immense famille altaïque. En somme, si l'invasion des soldats de Djingiz-Khan et de ses successeurs fut, à plus d'un point de vue, la cause première d'irréparable désastres, elle eut l'immense avantage de réunir sous une seule autorité des contrées qui, depuis la chute de la dynastie sassanide, avaient vécu de plus en plus isolées, qui tendaient à une autonomie de plus en plus complète et à une hostilité profonde les unes contre les autres : elle les habitua à l'idée de vivre côte à côte, fondues dans un même état pour poursuivre un seul et même but.

La conquête d'Houlagou, qui rassembla toute la terre d'Iran autour de l'étendard mongol, mit fin à cette fragmentation indéfinie ; elle fut pour la Perse l'origine d'une ère d'unité et d'autonomie politiques.

These are the introductory remarks made by M. Blochet in one of the very first articles written on Persian Miniature Painting, and he is perfectly right. The fall of Baghdad coincides with the death of Arabic art based on antique tradition and with the birth of true Persian art. With the advent of the Mongols the supremacy of the graceful line was once more established

in Persian art, where its previous existence is proved by the old Persian and Sassanian reliefs. It is, even to our day, to be seen there, if not in art—since art is no longer to be found in Persia—still, in the movements of the Persians and their dress, the elegant lines of which no London tailor has surpassed.

The ground was well prepared for the adoption of this new art from the far East. It had lain fallow for more than five hundred years in consequence of the continual internal wars and rivalries among the small principalities, which never allowed them sufficient peace to think of anything so superfluous as art, the great demands of the Court of Baghdad as regards pomp and splendour being mostly satisfied from the West. During this period Persia was Sunnite and abhorred all imagery. Art flourished

Fig. 8. Persian Copy of the 16th Century.
After a Chinese drawing of an Archer of the Yüan period. F.R.M.

Fig. 9. Portraits of Chinese Emperors.
From the Jāmi' al-Tawārikh manuscript, dated A.H. 714 (A.D. 1314). R.A.S.

during the Fatimid period in Egypt, and when the Fatimids were driven out eighty years before the fall of Baghdad, and some of their artists removed to Persia and Mesopotamia, they met in Persia the out-posts of Mongolian culture. The pottery decorated with figures found at Raghes gives clear proof of Fatimid and Chinese influence, as I shall shew in a forthcoming work on Eastern ceramics.

The Mongolian princes were far too much under Chinese influence, and too accustomed to rich imagery to forsake it, so they called into being an art which, though it could not compete with the productions of the mother country during their sovereignty, has yet given to posterity many productions of great value. Having abandoned the simple life of the soldier, they now desired to surround themselves with luxury, and everything of this period that survives gives evidence of this desire. Doubtless much was destroyed by the Mongols, but once firmly established, they hastened to avail themselves of the talent possessed by the artists residing in Baghdad, Raghes, and other towns of Persia. The large orders they gave created quite a distinctive style which by its strength and wealth, especially in regard to the drawing of figures rather than to the beauty of the colouring, is most surprising. The entire world, even far-distant Europe, had to be made to recognise how rich and mighty the Mongol Khans were, and embassies were despatched to different countries in Europe and Asia. The Mongols not only brought Chinese artists in their train but also Chinese works of art. We know that Chinese engineers superintended the siege of Baghdad, and that court poets, astrologers, and artisans were to be found in the camp outside the walls of Baghdad. When the city had fallen, many more of the most cultured classes were sent for and thus it was that so early as the middle of the 13th century Chinese artists arrived in Persia, soon after the arrival of the Fatimid artists from the West.

There is not much of the Mongol period that survives, but what there is, is of the greatest interest. I do not here refer to the numerous pieces of indifferent pottery[25] which of late years have been found, especially at Sultanabad—most of which were made for the kitchens of the Amirs and are now looked upon as works of art by European and American collectors—but to the miniatures that are found in a few manuscripts in the various libraries of Europe. They are fewer in number than those we possess dating from the time of the Caliphate, but they are all of fine quality and the good state of preservation of most of them enables one to obtain an insight into the art of painting as exercised by the Mongols.

One of the most ancient Persian manuscripts is the "History of the Mongols," by 'Alā al-dīn Juwaynī, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, at Paris. The copy is dated A.H. 689 (A.D. 1290), and was written in Persia, doubtless in Azarbayjan, for presentation to the Mongol sovereign to whom it was given by 'Alā al-dīn Juwaynī himself. The frontispiece of the manuscript is a full page drawing representing 'Alā al-dīn on his knees delivering a copy of his manuscript to Arghūn, the ruler of the Iranian empire. It is unfortunate that this ink drawing is so damaged that it does not lend itself to reproduction, as it represents the first phase of the art which delighted the Mongol rulers and is characteristic of their court. There is little doubt that this drawing, executed entirely in ink, and almost devoid of colour, is the work of an artist influenced by models obtained from the Celestial Empire, or possibly, of a Chinese who attempted to accomplish something that would satisfy Persian tastes.

This style of drawing following on the lines of that of the Far East did not however long continue to satisfy the Persian artists, who soon abandoned it to return to their older painting in colours, although they lowered their colour tones and attempted the softer Mongolian harmonies of colour.

With the exception of the astronomical manuscript in the British Museum (Arabic 5323) (Plates 35–39), I know of but very few drawings in ink of this period, and I cannot feel sure whether they are originals or later copies. The originals of an archer (Fig. 8) and a man with a horse (Plate 34) evidently belong to this period. I have questioned Japanese experts, who are said to have keener eyes than European art critics: the date cannot be fixed, but the drawings were certainly not made later than the commencement of the 16th century.

Three drawings, heightened with pale colours, which are certainly Chinese but which were discovered in Eastern albums formed about A.D. 1600, are reproduced on Plates 33, 34. One represents a battle scene of the Yüan period, probably a sketch for embroidery on silk. The other two are taken from a Persian album brought to Paris some years ago, and represent Chinese women in the style of the Yüan period. Neither in colouring nor drawing is there anything to suggest that a Persian has copied them from Chinese originals, for such an artist would certainly have given them more Persian character. Chinese drawings were certainly as common at that period in Persia as they are now rare.

Of supreme importance, and indeed one of the most precious of Oriental manuscripts is a fragment of Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh of Rashīd al-Dīn belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society in London. It is dated A.H. 714

(A.D. 1314) and contains forty miniatures in the mixed Chinese and Persian style in a good state of preservation and of the most beautiful colouring (Plates 27-32 and Fig. 9). The greater part of the same manuscript with miniatures belongs to the University of Edinburgh[26] (Figs. 12-15).

The India Office possesses a manuscript, containing diwans of six Persian poets transcribed in A.H. 714 (A.D. 1315), which belonged to Shāh Ismā'īl of Persia, A.H. 907-930 (A.D. 1502-1524). Although the miniatures are of no great artistic value, and the same scenes are often repeated, I think the author of the library catalogue is a little too unsympathetic in merely describing them as "funny miniatures."

The Ḥarīrī manuscript in Vienna has already been mentioned, but although dated A.H. 734 (A.D. 1334) it is much more in the style of the Caliphate school, of which it is assuredly the very latest specimen, and its principal interest is its remarkably perfect state of preservation.

The Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris owns a manuscript of Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh (Suppl. Persan 1113) which M. Blochet[27] believes to be not much later than the time of Rashīd al-Dīn, in which case it would be the earliest specimen of the true Persian style and as such of priceless value. Moreover, it must have been executed in its entirety by a Persian, since it is so very dissimilar to the other manuscripts just mentioned (Plates 42-44).

These five manuscripts are the only important ones with miniatures in good condition that are known to be in the great libraries of Europe. In the East I have not yet discovered any Mongolian miniatures, and, so far as I can ascertain, nothing of any importance is now left in the libraries of either Constantinople or Cairo. It was therefore rather a surprise when a Persian translation of Manāfi' al-Ḥayawān, dated A.H. 695 (A.D. 1295) was recently put on the market in Teheran. It is now in the hands of M. Vignier in Paris. It contains 94 miniatures, mostly of animals, and a few scenes with figures (Plates 21-26). The outlines of some of the animals are very finely drawn. The colouring is in the same style as in the Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh in the R.A. Society's Library, with the same greyish tone pervading. It is especially interesting because of a few nude figures which look quite Indian in pose and character. In some of the late Sassanid or very earliest Muhammadan vessels of bronze or silver, mostly found in Russia, there can clearly be discerned the same Indian style, and Indian traditions or models may very easily have been preserved in some remote part of Mesopotamia.

The animals are drawn in the same style as those of an earlier period, though not in so realistic a manner. Their great decorative character leads one to believe that they were drawn by a Persian and not by an Arab or a Mongol.

The trees are in the same style as in the earlier period. It seems to me probable that the artist had seen earlier models, and that he simply adopted the new Chinese style of drawing with fine lines and the greyish tones. Manuscripts of works on natural history are the only ones that I still entertain hopes of bringing to light. It will take a long time to search through all the libraries, as such works have never been deemed works of art, nor are they much asked for, and as a rule are classed as books of slight importance. Shortly before sending this work to the press a few photographs were shewn to me of a manuscript of this kind which was for sale in Persia.

Fig. 10. The Tree of Wākwāk.
Having leaves like shields and fruit resembling a human head.
In a manuscript, A.D. 1388.
B.N., Suppl. Persan 332.

At the first glance one perceives that in the miniatures of the R.A. Society's Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh a new style has suddenly made its appearance. The outline drawing is totally different; instead of the broad and uniform lines are seen very fine nervous strokes (often of a calligraphic character), made with a far more rapid and delicate touch. The fingers are nervously drawn, as was the wont of the early Chinese masters and quite different to the Rodinesque manner in which they were drawn during the Caliphate. Notwithstanding this nervousness there is a monumental style about some of these miniatures that is associated with but few works of art from Persia. It is evident that this manuscript was meant to be a monumental work on the history of a great nation. Although the Chinese style predominates, it would be difficult to point out the precise Chinese originals. This manuscript is of vast importance in demonstrating early Persian art, but still more on account of its connection with the history of

Fig. 11. Angel.
From a Persian manuscript. About A.D. 1350. Dr. F. Sarre.

Chinese art. The miniatures it contains will be shortly published uniformly with this book, with a text by M. Blochet, and I hope that the art critics of the future will be able to solve the many queries that these miniatures raise; they are so numerous that I cannot even touch upon them here. Most of the figures are certainly Chinese, others appear to shew that the artist was not a Chinaman, while all the Muhammadan scenes might well have been executed by a Persian. The landscapes, however, are absolutely Chinese, and in a style quite unknown in the preceding period, when only one or two trees formed the usual background. It would indeed be interesting to know whether the portraits of the Chinese Emperors are copied from Chinese originals or are simply works of imagination on the part of the artist. Chinese paintings were certainly used by the Mongols for decorating their tents and rooms, and the three which are illustrated in this work (Plates 33, 34) are, perhaps, relics of the picture gallery of a Mongolian prince.

I am inclined to think that many of these miniatures are copied from wall paintings, but on the other hand, the miniatures may also have served as models for wall painting. Oriental artists have such an extraordinary sense for decorative effect that they always compose their great works on a very small scale, and afterwards enlarge them. They worked in the same way as the Egyptian sculptors, who made quite small models for their gigantic conceptions. In a similar manner the designs for carpets were drawn on a minute scale and then enlarged, and the artist who illuminated manuscripts was generally a designer of carpets. It cannot too often be pointed out that the ornamental designs found in manuscripts are the basis of all Oriental decorative art, and without a close study of them it will be impossible to arrive at a right determination of other sections of Oriental art. They are quite as important as the old Arab writers, who have, unfortunately, been greatly neglected by those interested in Oriental art. A work giving, in chronological order, the most important examples of Oriental illuminated manuscripts and their artists would be of supreme importance for the history of Eastern art and would prove how naturally it developed from the art of the ancient world. The chapter at the end of this book is only a tentative essay towards that consummation.

In the newly discovered part of this manuscript belonging to the University of Edinburgh there are some miniatures which shew that they are undoubtedly based on original sources of the period of the Roman Empire. They are certainly inspired by, if not copied from relief sculptures or frescoes. The artists who were employed by Rashīd al-Dīn took their models where they could find them, and in his time more Roman monuments were in existence in the country around Tabriz than at the present time.

The colour scheme as shewn in this manuscript is strikingly different from that used by the artists of the Caliphate. Seldom in the history of painting has such a change occurred with so much rapidity. Two different worlds had now met, the Graeco-Roman and the Far-Eastern.

Instead of the strong bright colours of the former period, we now find that everything is enveloped in a light grey mist. The miniature has the appearance of being looked at through grey or dark spectacles. The profuse use of silver (which time has blackened) largely contributes to this result. The gold of such extraordinary quality and so lavishly used by the artists of the Caliphate has entirely disappeared. There is as great a difference as there is between an early Italian painting and the modern French school—each possesses great merits, but it is difficult to determine which is to be preferred.

This true Mongolian style did not long prevail. The Mongol masters returned home, and the native artists became masters of the field; whereupon ancient tradition naturally gained the ascendancy and Mongolian influence diminished by degrees. By the beginning of the 14th century the rulers must have already turned to native artists who were but slightly influenced by the Mongolian court-painters.

The finest example of the art of the Persian school of this time is the manuscript of Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Suppl. Persan 1113), which with its 111 miniatures is not only of supreme interest for the history of art in Persia, but perhaps still more as illustrating the life at the courts of the Mongolian princes who for more than a century and a half held sway in Persia. What Schefer's "Ḥarīrī" is for the Caliphate this manuscript is for the Mongolian period. It is a never-failing source for the study of the life, costume, and culture of the people inhabiting the country at a period which has left so few artistic treasures. It would be impossible to write a work about the Mongols in Persia without giving illustrations from this volume.

The manuscript while shewing the prevailing Persian style of the period also demonstrates fully the very rapid manner in which the Mongolian influence diminished and the quickness with which it became assimilated by the new school. The general scheme is Chinese, as is also the drawing itself, but the form of the figures reminds one of the ancient Persian monuments, and the colours have the old, perhaps even a richer, brilliancy. The Chinese artists had certainly taught their Persian pupils how to prepare their colours. The ancient medium has now been superseded by a better, but the splendid thick gold of the Caliphate has disappeared.

Some of the miniatures are executed by a true artist with a fine comprehension of the effect of colour and decoration, and remind one of

Fig. 12. The Earth swallowing up Korah and his Company in the presence of Moses.

Fig. 13. The Angel Gabriel appearing to Muḥammad.

From the Jāmi'al-Tawārikh manuscript, dated A.D. 1314. University of Edinburgh.

Fig. 14. Moses and the Seventy Elders of Israel on Mount Sinai.

Fig. 15. Muḥammad replacing the Black Stone in its place, after the rebuilding of the Ka'bah.

From the Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh manuscript, dated A.D. 1314. University of Edinburgh.

mediaeval frescoes. There is the same boldness of line and the grouping of colours. Modern artists would do well to study these miniatures in the original; they would then learn how possible it is to risk putting the most diverse, simple and strong colours together in large masses without disturbing the harmonious effect. There are pages in this manuscript which would be worthy of the best Italians, so superb is the monumentality, so complete is the harmony of these rich colours.

Many may resent the stiffness of the figures, but it must not be forgotten that the Mongol costume did not possess the plastic form of the Antique which the Arabs had inherited. The Mongols came from a cold country, and were obliged to spend a large part of their life on horseback and in the open air. Their dress to this very day is heavy and clumsy, though very suitable for the climate they inhabit. These conquerors of Persia had very little in common with the degenerate people who formed the favourite models of the court of Shāh 'Abbās. The conquest of Persia by the powerful hordes of Jingiz Khan was the motive preferred by their artists. I think everyone will admit that I am right in preferring their bold representations to the super-refined scenes of Shāh 'Abbās' time, in which the principal aim of the artist was to give elegant movement to the model and paint minutely a rich silk dress interwoven with gold.

In the great compositions of the Edinburgh Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh there are many portraits of great interest and fine quality but I only know of one real portrait in Mongolian style, and that is the one in my own collection. It is reproduced in Fig. 17. It represents a prince wearing a suit of armour of the kind used during the T'ang period (A.D. 600–900) in China. His face has so much expression, his eyes are so lively, and his lips so sensitive that it is far superior to anything in the Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh and is only surpassed by Chinese portraits. In Europe nothing of this quality was done at the same time. I am convinced that it is a real portrait of Tīmūr painted about A.D. 1380 by one of the last surviving artists of the Mongolian School. He is represented in the armour of one of his ancestors on the throne of China. The resemblance with the oldest known portrait of the world's conqueror (Plate 69)—a copy by Bihzād—in the Safar Nāmah dated A.H. 872 (A.D. 1467) is also very striking.

The miniatures dating from the later Mongolian period in Persia are not numerous, but I feel convinced that there are many still lying hidden in libraries, the librarians of which prefer the more minute work of the later period, doubtless regarding with sovereign contempt the whole of this earlier art.

It may well be considered, I think, that the miniatures of the Paris Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh are the prototypes of all the miniatures executed during the whole of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries, since nothing was added to the art until fresh Chinese influence during the time of Tīmūr introduced new details from the East.

Which artist ranks the highest? Which was the more skilful?—the European or the Eastern? If we regard the works without prejudice, putting aside all feelings of religion and sentiment as regards costume and subject, I think we must acknowledge that the Oriental painting was more highly developed than the European. Could Cimabue, or the great masters Giotto or Duccio, who created their much admired works at the same time, bear comparison with their Eastern compeers in respect of unerring drawing and the solution of technical difficulties? Did the Italian art of the 14th century produce a painting with such splendid decorative effect as Sulṭān Ogotāy's reception of two ambassadors (Plate 43)? What a charm, what a decorative sense and character is possessed by Oriental landscape drawing in comparison with the childish attempts of the Sienese school! How superior are the Orientals in regard to colour! The Italian trecento paintings pale when compared with their prototypes the Byzantine mosaics, whereas Persian miniatures of the same century survive a similar ordeal with triumph.

FIG. 16. CHINESE DRAWING FOR EMBROIDERY.

About A.D. 1400. From the Library of the Sultan. F.R.M.

CHAPTER III

The Timurid School

EASTERN authors claim as their most ancient painter Ustād Gung, the Dumb, who is declared to have been the founder of the Timurid school. His name appears to shew a Chinese origin, but as no work of his has been transmitted to us and we know of no other biographical details than that he was called Naqwat al-Muḥarrirīn, "the choicest of the writers," no definite conclusion can be made. He had a pupil, Ustād Jahāngīr, from Bukhārā, who is sometimes named 'Umdat al-Muṣavvirīn, "the pillar of the painters," and all we know about him is that he was the master of Pīr Sayyid Aḥmad, from Tabriz, who is said to have been the master of the famous Bihzād. These notices, however brief they may appear, seem to indicate Samarqand and Bukhārā as the primal sources of Persian painting. This Master Gung may have been a Chinaman; and he need not necessarily have been dumb, but simply unable to speak the language of his new country. Was he one of the artists brought in by Hūlāgū, or was he one of the painters of Tīmūr's court? One can only make a guess. But I think that the supposition that he was three generations older than Bihzād need not be taken too literally. I am still more inclined to believe him to be a mythical personage, and hardly think he was among the court painters of Tīmūr.

Of the wall-paintings which according to contemporary authors existed in Samarqand, nothing is left. We know that in A.D. 1407 a palace was built in the north garden of Samarqand for the Princess Bīgīm Sulṭān, and that the walls were covered with frescoes. The historian of Tīmūr, Sharaf al-dīn 'Alī, praises the Persian paintings and mentions the European paintings (by which are probably meant tapestries), possibly brought as presents to the world conqueror from the King of Spain by his ambassador, Gonzalez de Clavijo[28]. It appears that even Tīmūr had a collection of paintings. Did it contain any European masterpieces or were they mostly Chinese?

Tīmūr's vast realm was a mosaic of various countries, different nations and varying civilisations. In the rich, glorious and flourishing Samarqand, the capital of his enormous empire, he erected buildings covered inside and out with mosaics of faience full of colour, and perhaps more brilliant than the mosaics of Monreale. The miniatures of his time have the effect of mosaic work, the surfaces having the appearance of being composed of particles of glittering colour, creating a charm of which the observer never wearies.

The most important work of art remaining of this period is a manuscript of Khwājū Kirmānī dated A.H. 799 (A.D. 1396), in the British Museum (Add. 18113) which was executed in Baghdad. Six miniatures from it are reproduced on Plates 45–50. The figures are of a strongly marked Chinese character, long and somewhat stiff, reminding one far more of Chinese sculpture than of Mongolian miniatures. The expressions of the faces are Chinese, and a certain influence may also be traced from Byzantium and perhaps even from Italy. Although it is doubtful if artists from the Occident settled at

Fig. 17. Portrait of Tīmūr.
About A.D. 1380. F.R.M.

Samarqand and Baghdad—I myself feel convinced that they did—yet some works of Occidental art undoubtedly found their way thither. The interiors are Persian, but much of the furniture, etc., is of Chinese origin, e.g., the lambrequins. The architecture is a mixture of Persian and Chinese, while the landscapes are those of Persia. The colouring is vigorous, but, in spite of its great profuseness, harmonious. The peculiar tone of the colours reminds one of the very earliest carpets, of which there are some examples in existence. These miniatures present much that is naïve, a little that is barbarous, but much of extreme refinement. They possess the same charm as the early Gothic tapestries and frescoes. They are of interest not only on account of their great beauty, but also because they are almost the only paintings remaining of the lifetime of Tīmūr, one of the most extraordinary epochs not only in the history of Asia but of the whole world, and though they do not happen to have been executed in Samarqand, but in Baghdad lying far west of it, they nevertheless conformed exactly to the style favoured by the then ruler of the world.

The miniature[29] from the Bellini Album (Plate 51) is signed on the back of the silk, "work of Chinese." I suppose that the tree with its bird is real Chinese work. A miniaturist, Persian or Chinese, has filled the space underneath the tree with the figures.

To the Timurid period belongs that beautiful page (Plate 52) so often reproduced[30]—probably a remnant of a most superb manuscript—belonging to the Musée des Arts Décoratifs at Paris, representing the arrival of Humāy at the Court of the Emperor of China. This is undoubtedly a copy of a Chinese original. I possess a Chinese makimono of the Ming period which is strikingly similar to this, and reproduces the same charming rose-garden with trees drawn in exactly the same manner.

There is in the British Museum a charming little manuscript[31] dated A.H. 813 (A.D. 1410). Its miniatures cannot bear comparison with those I have previously described, but they are of great interest owing to their representations of carpets. The borders of the manuscript, executed in ink and gold, with some faint suggestion of colour, are an inexhaustible source of ornamental detail, and contain motives used in the manufacture of carpets, in bookbindings, etc. (Plates 53 and 239).

An extremely profuse and minutely executed manuscript[32] is in the celebrated collection of manuscripts belonging to Mr. Yates Thompson in London. It is a collection of thirty-nine works in one volume, and was executed A.H. 813 (A.D. 1410) for presentation to Sikandar, "the most powerful Sultan and most just Emperor, King of the Kings of Arabs and

Persians, Shadow of God in the two countries, Lord of the water and the land, the greatest King, Splendour of the world and of the faith." Sikandar was the son of 'Umar Shaik, the favourite son of Tīmūr. It contains thirty-eight miniatures, most of them very remarkable, more especially those representing nude figures, some of which fill an entire page. These must have been inspired by some foreign art, and are perhaps late reflections of the Greek art which Alexander the Great introduced into Turkestan and there had a longer life than elsewhere. They are some of the few representations of the nude to be found in Eastern manuscripts. In the Ḥarīrī manuscripts some nude figures are found, and even in the manuscript of the Mongol school belonging to M. Vignier in Paris there are a few, but the nude is not usually so strikingly represented as in this manuscript. We meet with them in later works of the Timurid school, where they invariably occur in the bathing scene of the Khamsah of Nizāmī, in Qazvīnī's Cosmography and in Kalīlah wa Dimnah.

The more I study the specimens of art of the early days of the Timurids from Samarqand and Herat the more convinced I am that European artists and their work were known there. Both missals and religious paintings were certainly sent to those places. In the border (Plate 241) the Italian origin is unmistakeable, the faces being quite European. The dagger which the angel holds in his hand is evidently a Venetian ox-tongue. The title-page (Plate 243) of a manuscript dated A.H. 838 (A.D. 1434) presents angels of an Italian type unlike and differently placed to those depicted in the earlier specimens of Persian and Chinese Art.

At the commencement of the 15th century, owing undoubtedly to Chinese influence, there arose a school of pen-and-ink drawing of extreme finish, in which, as a rule, the drawings are simply heightened with a touch of gold or. of colour. The two most remarkable drawings of this kind are the two warriors represented on Plate 55. They are superb illustrations of events in the history of the great conqueror whose armies swept across Asia, and they take rank among the most powerful drawings yet found. They are quite as strong as the work of Paolo Uccello with which they have a certain affinity. They were probably executed shortly after the death of Tīmūr, and perhaps formed part of a long series of paintings representing his battles. It is possible that they belong to the series of representations of the wars of Tīmūr in Hindustan, which Bābar[33], in his Memoirs, mentions that he saw in the garden of the Palace of the Heart's Delight at Samarqand. As a general rule Orientals do not esteem what their predecessors have accomplished, and generally try to destroy their work, but the Timurids were so greatly impressed with the deeds of their great ancestor that they reverentially tried to perpetuate them.

These two drawings, which once belonged to the library of the Shah, are certainly the most ancient examples of this style of drawing. As regards force of expression and movement they bring to my mind the fine drawing of a Greek warrior of the close of the 5th or the beginning of the 6th century in the Acropolis Museum at Athens which is superior to most drawings on vases. They are the sole drawings I know of a similar size, and the weapons and costumes therein depicted form a very valuable contribution to

FIG. 18. DRAWING.
Probably by Sulṭān 'Alī Shustarī.
B.N. Arabe 6074.

FIG. 19. YOUNG LADY.
Drawing about A.D. 1450. F.R.M.

FIG. 20. CRANE TAKING A FISH.
Signed Sulṭān 'Alī Shustarī.
B.N. Arabe 6074.

the history of arms and armour, a work which cannot be written without closely studying Oriental miniatures.

It is not impossible that they are Persian copies of, or were inspired by Greek vases. Such were certainly then found in the earth of Bactria in greater number than now. In a forthcoming work I intend to point out several connections between Greek art and the art of the Timurids. Antique classical sculptures and especially mosaics must have been known to the artists and ornamental designers of the Herat school of the 15th century.

It must not be forgotten that in the early centuries of our Era, Greek tragedies were played in Greek[34] so far away as the Indian frontier, and in these mountainous countries the Antique tradition survived longer than in any other place. Excavations in Bactria should bring forth most astonishing results, perhaps even greater than the results obtained in Central Asia and in China during the last five years.

To this school belong the two wonderful ink drawings that belong to Dr. Sarre (Plates 57, 58), who obtained them from the library of the Sultan at Yildiz. The angels with their long wings lead me to suppose that the artist must in some way have been influenced by European models. The curious head-gear in the form of leaves is probably derived from Chinese originals where we meet similar ones, so early as the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 600-900). The trees and plants represented in these drawings in regard to finish and elegance surpass anything ever done in Europe. Even the minute lines of Pisanello are not so fine. Professor Curtius, of Erlangen, has three small but very exquisite drawings[35], and Plate 59 reproduces one other of extraordinarily minute work. In the second half of the 15th century these drawings became less fashionable, although I know of some dated so late as A.H. 904 (A.D. 1498).

To this school, at the commencement of the 15th century, must belong some animal drawings (Plates 63, 64), one of which represents a lion standing against a tree, in the branches of which are two grinning apes, which are irritating the king of beasts by waving leaves, a combination of the sublime and the ridiculous. The lion, which is capitally drawn, is a reflection of a Chinese original of the Yüan period A.D. 1260-1368. A similar drawing is also to be found in the large album[36] lent by the Sultan to the Munich Exhibition held in 1910, with the proviso that no part of it was to be photographed, a condition which deprived the world of many valuable contributions to the history of the art of painting in the East. I do not know of any equally large collection of sketches of the earlier Timurid period in existence. The album, at present so jealously guarded, will probably experience the same fate as all such treasures in the East (the celebrated library of the Shah being no exception), and sooner or later be sold secretly in Paris or London.

Almost all the drawings of animals belonging to this period that are known are in the Chinese style. In the portion that has now disappeared of the album, formerly in the Sultan's possession, in which I discovered Bellini's celebrated picture of a Turkish Prince, there were several animal pictures of Chinese character, more studied and more elegantly drawn than most of Pisanello's. Even in the album of the Sultan exhibited in Munich such were

to be found. Some were certainly drawn by Chinamen, others were copies of Chinese originals and a few were Persian originals. In the European collections they are however extremely rare. The two ducks (Plate 63) were probably drawn by a Chinese artist. They once belonged to another album in the possession of the Sultan, who gave it to one of his favourite ministers. The drawing of an elephant, certainly a Persian original, in the possession

FIG. 21. PORTRAIT OF A PRINCE.
Timurid School. About A.D. 1480. From the Bellini Album. F.R.M.

FIG. 22. SITTING LADY.
Timurid School. About A.D. 1480. Goloubeff collection.

of M. Goloubeff (Plate 63*c*), also belongs to this period and shews the same exceedingly minute study of life. The miniature, Plate 63*a*, is a small masterpiece, and represents a dog holding a bone in its mouth, gazing at its reflection in the water—Æsop's fable illustrated by a Persian. As regards colour it is one of the most charming miniatures to be seen, especially as the water of the river which was painted in silver, has, in course of time, acquired a greyish black tint that harmonises capitally

with the brown shores. It is not improbable that this little miniature is of still older date and belongs to the Mongolian period. The colouring appears to point to that time.

The Timurids[37] soon began to lead a life compatible with the wealth their fathers and forefathers had amassed during their wars, and tried to squander it as quickly as possible. History constantly repeats itself. The life of these rulers forms a true epic. They recall to mind the old Paladins in the "Chansons de Gestes," passing in the space of a short time from the splendours of a throne to a position of the utmost decay. They were, however, the most artistic princes that ever reigned in Persia. If the conquering armies of Tīmūr destroyed many a work of art, his successors brought into being works of art that otherwise would never have been created. Does not Samarqand redeem the loss of many a town destroyed by Tīmūr. What he destroyed was already of itself destined to fall, and Tīmūr simply gave the mortal thrust. He was not the destroyer we are accustomed to consider him, but the master who arranged matters with an iron hand. He formed a link in the chain of natural development, and from his realm arose the Persia of later times, his successors bringing Persian art to its most flourishing stage. These Timurids were no barbarians; indeed, everything goes to shew that they were highly civilised and refined men, real scholars, loving art for the sake of art alone, and without ostentation. In the intervals between their battles they enjoyed thinking of their libraries and writing poetry, many of them having composed poetry that far excels that of their court poets. Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā was no bad poet, and his odes, written in Turki, are far better than those of many celebrated poets. He also wrote in Arabic and competed with the celebrated Jāmī. The most refined style of life prevailed, in certain respects recalling to mind that of the European princes of the same time, or that of France during the 18th century, although it was far more literary than either.

Bāisunghar, Shāh Rukh, Ulūgh Beg and Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā were bibliophiles, not surpassed by the Dukes of Burgundy, or by King René of Anjou, their contemporaries, and were far more illustrious than the celebrated French and Italian book-lovers of the 16th and 17th centuries. Not only did they collect books but they created them. Bāisunghar and Ḥusain Mīrzā were to Persia what William Morris was to England four hundred years later. They created a new style of book, but theirs was infinitely more aristocratic, solid, and artistic. The very finest European books and manuscripts cannot, except in a very few isolated instances, bear comparison with those of the Orientals as regards the fineness of the work.

Bāisunghar was the son of Shāh Rukh and grandson to Tamerlane; he died in A.H. 837 (A.D. 1433), when 37 years of age, at Astarābād, where he was governor. He was the founder of the most elegant style of book production in Persia, and well deserves to be remembered as one of the greatest bibliophiles of the world. Under his auspices forty artists were employed in copying manuscripts under the guidance of Maulānā Ja'far of Tabriz, himself a pupil of 'Abdallāh, son of Mīr 'Alī. By paying large salaries and making princely presents he retained in his service the cleverest masters of the period, who executed the finest work in the production of their splendid volumes. The paper was unsurpassed, the illuminations of extreme delicacy, and the covers are unequalled to the present day. Books from his vast library are now dispersed over the entire world and wherever found should possess a place of honour.

It was during the reigns of the Timurids and not during that of Shāh 'Abbās that the finest carpets were produced in Persia. The finest arms and armour, and ivory work of a minuteness surpassing all examples produced by other countries, were made at their court. All specimens of Persian art that exhibit the most refined taste and workmanship emanate from their time or the very beginning of the Ṣafavid dynasty.

All art produced in the East is the direct result of an impulse given by the monarch. But for Bāisunghar and Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā we should not have had that lovely miniature art their artists created, for it was to adorn and illustrate their own writings that they welcomed artists from all parts of their kingdom. But for Shāh 'Abbās we should not have had the splendid figured velvet[38], and but for Sulaimān the Magnificent there would be no magnificent Turkish faience from Izniq[39], and but for Sultan Aḥmad we should not have had the wonderful manuscripts of the Koran, by which their aesthetic tastes are still perpetuated. All real art in the Orient is court art, or is dependent on a Maecenas. It was so in the Abbasid court at Baghdad in the 9th century; it was so in Egypt and Spain; it was so everywhere. This fact must be remembered as it explains much that would otherwise be incomprehensible.

That an art so brilliant should entirely disappear with the ruler was not to be expected. The princes died, but the artists survived and entered the service of another. The impulse derived from the Timurids was so powerful that it lasted through a great part of the 16th century. It was not only the new rulers of Persia, the Ṣafavids, but also princes whose names are almost unknown to history, who continued the fashion and had manuscripts executed that were more costly than anything of the kind produced in Europe.

Fig. 23. The Sleeping Rustam.
From a Shāh Nāmah dated A.H. 868 (A.D. 1463). F.R.M.

Miniature painting during the Timurid period wins my sympathy perhaps more than any other. By a profuse employment of powerful, glaring, and yet fully harmonious colouring, and by the use of a charming green colour the artists endowed their paintings with a freshness that is lacking at other periods; but towards the close of the 15th century the fresh colours were somewhat toned down under the influence of the great Bihzād.

There are many Timurid miniatures that fully equal Benozzo Gozzoli's frescoes in the Cappella Palatina at Florence, some of which are very similar to enlarged miniatures. It is as yet too early to debate the difficult question whether Gozzoli was acquainted with Oriental art or not; I myself am of the opinion that he was, but it is difficult to prove.

Sometimes there occurs a grandness not only as regards the colouring but also with respect to the drawing that is quite surprising. For instance, in the copy of the Mi'rāj Nāmah in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Suppl. 190), executed at Herat, A.H. 840 (A.D. 1436), during the reign of Shāh Rukh (Plate 56), there is found the boldness of the Mongolian period mingled with the budding refinement of the Timurids. The picture represents the Prophet accompanied by the Archangel Gabriel arriving at the pond of Kauthar in Paradise. It is an illustration of the Gates of Heaven that could not have been created on a grander scale by any European artist. It is a pity that there are no more works of this artist extant, since his splendid drawing was combined with a simplicity of colouring that I have scarcely seen equalled. With red, blue, and much gold he obtained the most brilliant effects. The Chinese "clouds" have nowhere attained a grander character.

Plates 60, 61 shew a hunting scene in which the strong Mongolian style has been softened. This is not the only case in which Timurid artists continued to work in Mongolian style. A Nizāmī, dated A.H. 868 (A.D. 1463), now belonging to M. Goloubeff, is quite in the old style but the colours are weaker. It was one of the finest manuscripts in the Munich Exhibition of Muhammadan Art[40].

Another manuscript[41], belonging to the Monastery of the Dancing Dervishes at Pera, would be well worthy of being reproduced in colours (Plates 65, 66). It is a splendid codex, and a most interesting example of the Shāh Nāmah, the national epic of the Persians, and contains over two hundred miniatures by various artists whose work forms a harmonious whole. The figures are striking both on account of their size and the large splashes of colour which give these miniatures a charm possessed by few that have come under my notice. The manuscript contains some landscapes of which one in particular can bear comparison with the most beautiful Gothic tapestry.

I need hardly call attention to the striking similarity exhibited by the composition of the miniature on Plate 66 with the landscape of Dürer's Flight into Egypt in the "Marienleben," or with the landscapes in Poliphilo's Hypnerotomachia published in Venice in A.D. 1499. There can be no suggestion in this case of European influence, since the "Marienleben" was published in A.D. 1511, and the Shāh Nāmah was executed about A.D. 1490, being derived in its turn from more ancient sources.

Is not this Persian composition finer than Dürer's? The figures in the landscape behind the trees form one harmonious entity. It is remarkable that the upper rounding off is the same in both cases, and that in place of the angel in the one there is a bird in the other. Had Dürer seen a similar miniature? I do not deem it impossible that the German artist had seen Persian miniatures during his stay in Venice, since such (if not of the best quality) were assuredly for sale in Venice, and Rembrandt is certainly not the only great European artist who received impressions from the East. I feel convinced that future investigators will be able to shew that Venetian landscape painters were greatly influenced by Persian miniatures. Is there not a certain affinity between Bellini's large landscape in the National Gallery in London, and Persian miniatures? I leave this question to the decision of connoisseurs of Venetian art after a well-weighed and unbiassed study of Eastern paintings.

A still more extraordinary landscape is seen in Fig. 23. It is taken from a Shāh Nāmah, dated A.H. 868 (A.D. 1463), which was conceived on such a great scale that only a few miniatures were executed, and even these were not entirely finished, as is the case with this, "The Sleeping Rustam." It stands quite alone in the history of landscape painting in respect of richness, fantasy, and minute work. French or Flemish Gothic art produced nothing more fantastical, more charming and rich in colour, or with details of such unsurpassed fineness.

What eyes these artists must have had! and what sure hands, hands that never trembled even when executing the most delicate lines and curves, most of them so extremely fine that they seem to have been drawn under a magnifying glass, which, however, was certainly not the case. The reason no doubt is to be found in the fact that these men of yore were orthodox Musalmans, innocent of the taste of alcohol and free from the taint which it invariably exercises on the eyesight and the nervous system generally. This, I think, is the explanation why they were able to draw such delicate lines, so fine indeed, that one of the cleverest goldsmiths now living told me that they could not be emulated at the present time by his most skilful workman

and with the most modern tools. It is astounding that these complicated drawings are executed without the slightest perception of any tremor of the hand, and the question arises what sorts of brushes or pens they used to make these long uninterrupted lines which are finer even than the finest hairs. It may be true that they invented very little, and only modified the ideas of other artists and people, but they so absolutely concentrated their force on the execution of their work, that it is not surpassed, not even reached, in any other country or period.

FIG. 24. SHĀH ṬAHMĀSP VISITING A HOLY MAN, PROBABLY BY BIHZĀD.
From a manuscript of Nizāmī, Add. 25900. British Museum.

CHAPTER IV

Bihzād and his School

WE know very little about the life of Bihzād, the Raphael of the East, but we know more of him than of most other Persian artists. He must have been born about the middle of the 15th century. He became the court painter of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā ibn Manṣūr ibn Baiqarā ibn 'Umar Shaikh ibn Tīmūr who reigned in Khurāsān from A.H. 878 till his death in A.H. 912 (A.D. 1473–1506). After the death of his patron, Bihzād entered the service of the new ruler of Persia, Shāh Ismā'īl, who was also a great lover of art, and with whom he was in high favour. The chronicles state that when the Shāh went to war with the Turks under Salim I, he said: "If I suffer defeat and my capital be taken by the enemy I do not wish Shāh Maḥmūd Nīshāpūrī—his court calligrapher—and Master Bihzād to fall into the hands of my foes." He therefore had them carefully concealed, and on returning to his capital after the disastrous battle at Chāldirān, A.H. 920 (A.D. 1514), the very first question he put was: "Is Bihzād still alive?" After the death of Shāh Ismā'īl, Bihzād probably continued to work in the capacity of court painter to Shāh Ṭahmāsp, as the chronicles mention a copy of the five poems of Nizāmī, written by Maulānā Maḥmūd and decorated with miniatures by Bihzād which was executed for the Shāh, and also that Shāh Ṭahmāsp[42] did not deem himself sufficiently wealthy to monopolise Bihzād's services, and therefore permitted the painter to accept private orders.

We have no certain knowledge of the date when Bihzād died, but it must have been in the early years of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's reign. His death must have taken place at Tabriz, since he is buried beside his nephew, Rustam 'Alī of Khurāsān, who died there in A.H. 971 (A.D. 1563). Long after his death, Bihzād's fame remained fresh in men's memory; Bābar[43] speaks of him in his memoirs as "the most eminent of all painters," adding that Bihzād was a very fine artist but he did not paint beardless young faces

well, as he made the necks too large; bearded faces, however, he painted extremely well.

Abul Faẓl, the court biographer of the Emperor Akbar, who was Bābar's grandson, in his biography states that: "Most excellent painters are now to be found [at the Court of Akbar], and their masterpieces are worthy of a Bihzād, and may well rank with the wonderful works of artists in Europe who have acquired world-wide fame"; a statement that should be borne in mind by those that still deny any connection between Asiatic and European art.

Bihzād appears to have passed his long life in Herat and Tabriz. Many readers will exclaim: "Herat that lies in barbarous Afghanistan, where none dare travel!" It must, however, be remembered that four centuries ago Herat was one of the most important centres of an advanced civilisation in Asia. It is only necessary to read the descriptions given by the Emperor Bābar of the glorious gardens with their kiosks adorned with faience, concealed under huge trees, and of the water that constantly flowed by. It was a town as beautiful and poetical as Brusa in our own days. It may well be conceived that in such surroundings artistic talents could be developed when under the patronage of such a grand seigneur as Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā.

The enormous plane-trees which have been so splendidly painted by Bihzād were observed by him day after day. The peach-trees blossomed year after year in abundance, backed by a sky that was ever the same blue. The cypresses, straight and proud, stood guard beside the kiosks of faience, just swaying their highest tops in the breeze. The absolute tranquillity of the East reigned over gardens and parks. The indescribable peace of the mountains of Iran, with their cool invigorating evenings, affording such full compensation for the heat of the day, gave strength for new exertion and work. The sun of the East illumined the small chamber set apart by his ruler as the dwelling place of Bihzād, and there the artist sat bending over the low desk, which in its drawers held all that he needed for the production of the masterpieces that the museums of Europe will, perhaps very soon, place beside those of the best 15th century masters of Italy and the Netherlands. Assuredly Bihzād had no studio such as European painters possessed, but simply a room with white walls whose only ornaments were texts from the Koran, written by the chief calligraphers of the East. On the floor were yellow straw mats, while in one corner were a few cushions and a carpet on which guests and admirers were invited to sit down. Beyond the doorway, in which he often sat when the daylight in the chamber was insufficient, was a garden containing a great basin of placid water reaching up to the stone edge. Trees and bushes grew so densely that it was scarcely

possible to pass between them. Roses bloomed while the peaches ripened and grapes hung in profuse clusters. Thousands upon thousands of roses grew on bushes and walls so closely that no green leaf, nothing but a mass of varied hues was visible. In such surroundings sat Bihzād working day after day, handling a brush and a pen finer than any used before or after. His portrait of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā (Plate 81) shews the manner in which he drew. One sees how he changed and altered in pencil, and afterwards finished the drawing in ink. This interesting study was simply a sketch. The finished miniature, greatly reduced is in the manuscript Or. 6810 at the British Museum, (Plate 72). The hair-fine lines in which Bihzād was an unsurpassed master, were made over such pencil outlines. Even if based on them, admiration is yet due to the sureness of hand with which the hair-fine lines are drawn, they being often so fine that they cannot even be reproduced by photography (Plate 68). His lines are far finer than any made by previous artists, the famous Chinese master of the 11th century, Li Lung-mien, not excepted. His pen and ink drawings are however very rare. M. Goloubeff has an equestrian portrait of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā signed in microscopical characters, which like all his real signatures are so placed that they are only discernible after much search. They are so minute that I have not succeeded in photographing any with sufficient distinctness to enable me to reproduce one in this volume. An equestrian portrait, certainly a copy after a Chinese original of the Yüan school, a hunter on horseback, and a drawing representing a wounded man led by two soldiers, are amongst the few known drawings by his hand (Plate 87).

With regard to manuscripts with miniatures by him I know of about ten, containing about ninety miniatures. I sincerely hope that more will come to light, since each of them forms an important contribution to the history of Persian art. By the reproductions I provide, the reader will be enabled to ascertain how very few works can be ascribed to this master, most of those works now shewn with pride by collectors or dealers as Bihzād's, being dubious productions of his pupils. Although unsigned, I am inclined to believe that the miniatures in the Goloubeff[44] "Safar Nāmah" (Plate 69) are by Bihzād, and one must certainly let the note in the book, written by Jahāngīr himself, to the effect that these miniatures were by Bihzād, carry full weight. If they really were executed in A.H. 872 (A.D. 1467), when the manuscript was written, and not as I suppose added later, we should have an important date as regards the age of Bihzād, as it may certainly be assumed that he was at least twenty years of age when they were executed. Some of the figures are entirely in the Chinese style of the period.

In quite the early Timurid style are the miniatures in a manuscript of Nizāmī's Haft Paikar belonging to Mr. Quaritch (Plate 67). If they were not signed with the authentic signature of Bihzād, I could hardly believe that he had so truly reproduced the style of his masters[45].

There is in the Khedivial Library at Cairo a celebrated manuscript of the Būstān by Sa'dī, dated A.H. 894 (A.D. 1488) (Plates 70, 71). This work contains six large and most charming miniatures, one of which is said to be signed by Bihzād, but I have been unable to verify this statement, since on my two last visits to the library I have not been permitted to hold the manuscript

Fig. 25. Khusrau sees Shīrīn Bathing.
From the manuscript Add. 25900.

Fig. 26. Bahrām Gūr with One of His Wives.
British Museum.

in my hands or even to see those leaves that sixteen years ago I was able to photograph myself without any difficulties being made by the authorities.

A manuscript of perhaps greater importance and beauty than the Būstān at Cairo was lately sold in Paris. It was a Khamsah of Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī dated A.H. 890 (A.D. 1485), with thirteen miniatures, some of which (Plates 75–78) are surpassed by no other miniatures of the great master. The scenes represented are not the usual ones, and some of them, in fact,

were never before or afterwards illustrated either by Bihzād or any other Persian master. Some of them are certainly inspired by wall paintings, e.g. Plate 77. If the Emperor Jahāngīr had been given the opportunity of buying this manuscript he would have given £20,000 in our money for it. It is far superior to what he possessed and praised so highly. It will form one of the volumes in the series of the finest Persian manuscripts which I intend to reproduce as a supplement to the present work.

In the British Museum is a glorious manuscript of Nizāmī (Or. 6810) dated A.H. 899 (A.D. 1493), with seventeen miniatures (Plates 72, 73) by Bihzād and five by Mīrak (Plates 94, 95). In this case there can be no hesitation as to which of them are to be ascribed to Bihzād as his scenes are full of life in comparison with the solemn and pompous pictures by Mīrak.

The above mentioned volumes seem to be his principal works. No work of any importance executed by him during the last years of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā is known. During the time of Shāh Ismā'īl he illuminated smaller volumes. Some of his later works are in the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg, whither they were brought with the famous library founded by Shāh 'Abbās in the mosque at Ardabīl which contains the tomb of his grandfather Shāh Ismā'īl. In these volumes it is apparent that Bihzād was losing his strength of treatment, although at the same time becoming more charming and more elegant in colour (Plates 74, 79, 80).

The twenty miniatures in the manuscript of Nizāmī in the British Museum (Add. 25900), dated A.H. 846 (A.D. 1442), must be classed among his latest work, as the turbans of the figures have Ṣafavid forms and the colours are weaker. They were probably painted into this old manuscript at the command of Shāh Ismā'īl. They are of unsurpassed minuteness, perhaps too minute.

But it was as a portrait painter that Bihzād rose to the level of a great master, worthy to be placed by the side of Memling, Dürer and Holbein. Unfortunately, not many portraits by his hand are left. The most striking and the most discussed are the portraits of a man with his arm in a palahang, of which about ten different copies are known, a few of which are, in my opinion, ascribable to Bihzād or his school. They cannot be by Mīrak, nor by Shaikh Sāda Maḥmūd, nor by Sulṭān Muḥammad, from whose hands we have signed work quite different in style. They may be the work of some unknown masters, though in that case they plainly shew the immediate influence of Bihzād. I feel convinced that the one belonging to Mr. R. Koechlin (Plate 83) and that in the Bodleian Library are originals, and that the others, two of which are reproduced on Plate 84, are copies, mostly executed

at the beginning of the 16th century, a few so late as the end of the same century. They are all Persian work[46] except one at the Louvre, which, according to the signature, was painted by Akbar's court painter, Farrukh the Qalmāq. It has been suggested that this is a portrait of Tīmūr. All later portraits of Tīmūr—no certain originals are known—represent him with the majesty of a Roman emperor. It is, moreover, inconceivable that Akbar would have allowed one of his court painters to depict Tīmūr as a prisoner, when every other painter had represented his great grandfather with all the insignia of his royal dignity. We must at once insist that this is not a portrait of a paralysed man, represented as carrying his arm in a sling as some critics would have us believe. Physicians are quite convinced of this, and in a case like this they are always the best judges. What appears to be a sling is, however, an ordinary instrument of punishment, the "palahang" which Chardin and Tavernier have described in their travels. The portrait must, therefore, represent a prisoner, his type of face being apparently that of a Mongol or Tartar, and the aigrette on his turban shews that he was a prince. The inscription on the copy at the Bibliothèque Nationale states that his name was "Murād with the thin beard," and I believe the most natural explanation is that the portrait represents Murād, the last Prince of Āqquyunlī, who was taken prisoner by Shāh Ismā'īl at the battle of Shurūr in A.H. 907 (A.D. 1502), he being the last opponent of the new Ṣafavid dynasty. It seems to me quite natural that so important a prisoner should be portrayed. The existence of so many portraits may be explained by the fact that the new Shah sent copies in every direction to shew that his very last opponent had been taken prisoner.

The portrait which belongs to M. Doucet (Plate 82) also represents a captive, but as his face is different from those above mentioned it must be left to other connoisseurs to find out his name. It is not impossible that M. Doucet's portrait is an older one, since it is painted on silk, perhaps an indication of a Chinese origin.

Bihzād's masterpiece in portrait painting is his "Dervish from Baghdad" (Plate 85). Very few masters have so fully concentrated the whole expression of a portrait on the eyes and the lips. He has made everything simple, and anything that might distract the eyes of the spectator from the eyes of the portrait is suppressed. Bihzād has studied every detail in the face; observe how he has noticed the difference in the nostrils of the dervish's nose! The way in which he has drawn the ears, can only be explained by his desire to harmonise the lines of the turban with the dress. How correct and well drawn is every part of the body under the heavy woollen coat! It reminds

me of the charming 4th century piece of Greek sculpture in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople, representing a young boy with a large cape of sheepskin under which one can imagine the movement of the breast and the hidden hand holding the cape together. Everyone who has been in the East will recognise this man; one has seen him hundreds of times sitting and dreaming in the mosques, in the bazaars, in the cafés. He is always the same, and never less interesting. He is the best representative of the submissiveness of the East, of that submissiveness which knows that one day the time will come when the East will resume its grandeur. It might be a splendid illustration of the Turkish people, which has so long been subdued and has now suddenly come to power. Such is this man. He does not grieve over his fate. He knows and contemplates the passing of time, he remembers the time when his native town, Baghdad, was the centre of the culture of the world, when it played the same part as "la ville lumière" during the last century. How wonderfully those eyes are drawn—and although the man is absorbed in thought and contemplation they seem to see everything that is taking place, even if he consider it of little importance in comparison with what has been and with his dreams of better times to come. The whole figure is quite of a monumental character, designed with a strong sense of the decorative, and is built up as strongly and firmly as the dervish order to which he belongs. Is not that pointed turban a symbol of the East, which will break down all the prejudices of Europe and once more shew what power is hidden there? Only one thing is not as it should be in this portrait—the hands. They were probably not drawn by Bihzād, who always drew fingers in the most elegant manner, quite like the Chinese. It very often happens that Persian portraits were left unfinished, that the master only drew the head and perhaps outlined the body, leaving a pupil to finish the picture, just like our great painters. I know several heads and unfinished portraits in which one can see the difference between the brushes that have worked on them much more markedly than in this picture. The portrait is painted on brown yellow paper in a brownish tone, for brown is the colour of the order of the dervishes. Only the undercoat is bluish, the lips and the face having light red tones harmonising with the brown.

A sketch for a portrait of his patron, Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā (Plate 81), may well be considered as one of Bihzād's most interesting works, not only on account of the subject but also because it shews his manner of working. It is a sketch in pencil on paper, with some parts finished in pen drawing. The portrait was certainly intended to be executed in rich colour, as the ground is covered with a thick paste of a most charming light green. The

cape of the Sultan's dress is worked out in the beautiful scroll-pattern so characteristic of the time and the country. It is drawn in red ink, and the belt and the dagger are heightened with a little gold. The head of this Oriental ruler, "every inch a king," resembles the portraits of Henry VIII. But there can be no possibility of this portrait being copied from or inspired by a Holbein picture of that king, as Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā was already dead in A.D. 1505, and this sketch was without doubt made during his lifetime. The Sultan certainly sat to the artist. Were it a copy, the artist would not have made all those alterations in the fingers and the dress, and left a part unfinished in pencil when the whole was intended to be covered with colour. In this respect the sketch is extremely interesting, since it gives a good idea of the manner in which Eastern artists were accustomed to work, and shews that their marvellous drawings in ink were not made at one and the same time, but only after long preparation. In this portrait Bihzād has himself drawn the hands, and we perceive what a master he was. The long fingers are quite Chinese, and are worthy of the best early Chinese artists.

In the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris is a portrait of a dervish which was most certainly painted by Bihzād (Plate 88). In execution and strength of expression it closely approximates to the dervish described on the previous page. This miniature certainly represents a famous man, since it has been copied several times. The same plate shews another similar portrait in which the position is the same, and the great lines are identical. This copy, a piece of extraordinary drawing, was evidently made by Muḥammad, a pupil of Bihzād. It has in its turn been copied by a man with much less skill than Muḥammad. The lines are the same but not so powerful, and small lines have been added which disturb the simplicity that forms the charm of the preceding drawing. It is signed by Muʿīn al-dīn, a master of the middle of the 16th century. In a fourth copy on the same plate, made about A.D. 1600, we perceive very little of the simplicity of the original. These four miniatures illustrate, far better than any words can, the difference between the great master of the beginning of the 16th century and his successors throughout the century.

There exist several portraits, which if not absolutely executed by Bihzād, are evidently of his school or painted by his pupils, and among them one of a seated dervish (Plate 91). The sharpness of the face, and more especially the drawing of the nose, makes me doubt whether Bihzād executed this otherwise capital portrait, to which Oriental contemplation has been given so pregnant an expression. The little dervish in M. Goloubeff's collection (Plate 87), in accordance with the signature that is not very plain, appears

to be the work of one of Bihzād's pupils. The name Bihzād, beside the figure that was evidently added at a far later period, cannot be taken to prove that it is a portrait by that master.

The portrait of an Amir on Plate 89 is signed by Bihzād Sulṭānī. The other portraits on the same plate are certainly copies after portraits by Bihzād, for no other artist made portraits in so simple a style.

What astonishing certainty in drawing is shewn in Bihzād's portraits! I know of few European artists who can compare with him in this respect, while he understood how to draw the picture in such a manner that it appears to have been done at one sitting, so completely does it hold together. It is wonderful that Persian artists never omitted to endow their work with details of a highly decorative character. The clothes, too, fit so well, and the folds fall so gracefully—a charm which, however, is still noticeable with the Persians of the present day.

The custom of placing Bihzād's signatures on miniatures has caused far more confusion than benefit. Real signatures executed by the artist are extremely rare, being recognised at once by the care and discretion shewn in their application. It may be taken as a rule that all conspicuous and carelessly written signatures are of a far later date. Those who know Bihzād's real signature are aware that most of those ascribed to him are false, and have not the slightest resemblance to the microscopic characters of the master. If the signature is placed within a small shield or anything similar, its authenticity is pretty certain. The false signatures are often applied without any knowledge of the master's manner of drawing or of historical facts. For instance, Bihzād's signature is to be seen on a painting by Āqā Rizā representing a fancy portrait of Hārūn al-Rashīd (Plate 106).

Bihzād was not the depictor of grand warlike events. He loved the calm and peaceful contemplation of life, and it will be observed that he preferred to paint dervishes and teachers. He must have been a kind-hearted man, since he always allows his school-boys to play or otherwise amuse themselves. His landscapes are calm and peaceful, in light sunny tones. He prefers the spring or summer to the autumn. I have only once in the whole range of Persian painting seen a winter landscape and that was probably an imitation of the old Breughel.

How does the work of Bihzād and Mīrak stand in comparison with the great contemporary miniaturists in Europe. It is difficult to say who is greater, Bihzād or Memling[47], Mīrak or Jean Fouquet[48]. They stand all on the same level,—perfection. The Eastern artists are superior in the fineness of the lines, in the decorative sense, in the richness of the colours; the

Europeans have more feeling in their faces, more religious sentiment, are more developed in their landscapes. Perhaps the Eastern better understood what a miniature required, as their pictures belong more to the books they illustrate. Memling's and Fouquet's pictures are perhaps more beautiful when hanging on the wall. The miniatures cut out from the Livre d'Heures of Etienne Chevalier at Chantilly best shew this. They are pictures looked at through a diminishing glass. Both the Eastern and the European artists worked with that intense love which is necessary to create a great thing. What is lacking in religious feeling in the Eastern pictures is replaced by a love and desire to attain perfection in the smallest details which elsewhere never has and never will be reached.

Bihzād may be considered as the creator of Persian miniature painting, since he freed it from the bonds of Chinese art, of which his contemporary Mīrak, the charming colourist, was the great representative. Bihzād's influence on his pupils and successors was immense. We shall see how his style was followed more than two centuries later, and how during the darkest days of degeneration, and so long as Persia had any claim to be considered artistic, his figures were still copied.

Chapter V

Mīrak and the Bukhārā School

MĪRAK or Āghā Mīrak, the Carpaccio of the East, ranks after Bihzād highest among Persian painters. He was a Sayyid from Ispahan, and by his contemporaries was considered unrivalled as an engraver on ivory and as a painter of miniatures. He was a pupil of Bihzād, and may have been born later than he, since he was alive in A.H. 946-949 (A.D. 1539-1543), when he painted miniatures in the Nizāmī manuscript in the British Museum (Plates 134, 135). He executed five of the miniatures (Plates 94, 95) in the Nizāmī manuscript (Or. 6810) dated A.H. 899, which contains some of the finest work of Bihzād. He was not so productive as Bihzād, and but a very few separate pictures by him are known. A miniature from the Bellini Album (*see post* p. 59) is signed by him. Although his figures are more lacking in movement and stiffer than those of Bihzād, they have an indescribable charm which no other Persian artist expresses: they advance as if in a solemn procession, they always appear to be enjoying themselves, but at the same time to be constantly standing on their dignity and anxious that the folds of their dress should fall correctly. He seems to have studied Chinese paintings thoroughly and to have been far more devoted to the art of the earlier Timurids than his master, Bihzād, who was, perhaps, of too lively a temperament, with insufficient feeling for the merely decorative to enable him to appreciate the early masters as did Mīrak, whose paintings exhibit the strongest sense of the decorative in Persia. His miniatures may well be imagined as frescoes covering large walls; and he possessed such great talent in balancing his strong, brilliant colours that his miniatures, though marvellous in execution, appear perhaps still more beautiful if looked at from a distance, when all details disappear, and the large masses of colour alone become apparent.

A charming manuscript, dated A.D. 1520, with four miniatures by Mīrak (of a greater delicacy than is usually found in his work) has recently been acquired by M. Louis Cartier, of Paris. The first pages of this manuscript, which once belonged to Jahāngīr and bears his autograph, are worthy of the best Italian quattrocento master (Fig. 27). The miniature (Plate 109) belonging to M. Ducoté can rank in charm, but not in expression of the face, with the best productions of Bihzād.

In the same category as the manuscript dated A.H. 899, described above may be mentioned, another manuscript of Nizāmī, dated A.D. 1524, which was formerly in my possession. This manuscript, which came from the library of the Shah of Persia, is second to none of the same period. There are certainly larger ones in existence, but none of finer quality, with such a profusion of architecture and such charming colouring; furthermore, it is in perfect condition, and in a splendid contemporary binding. I reproduce on Plates 97-99 some of the fifteen miniatures, one of which was copied on a larger scale in the Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nevāī manuscript[49] dated A.H. 934 (A.D. 1527), and was executed for the Uzbeg Sultan Ḳōchkūnji Khān, A.H. 916-937 (A.D. 1510-1530). This latter is one of the finest manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Suppl. Turc 316), and if the miniatures were not painted by Bihzād and Mīrak themselves, they were certainly executed under their direction. The extraordinary details in the architecture in this manuscript, as in many others, are certainly not by the same hand as painted the miniatures, but possibly by Muḥammad Qāsim ibn Shādī-Shāh.

In the famous Nizāmī manuscript in the British Museum, dated A.H. 946-949 (A.D. 1539-1543), Mīrak has been obliged to conform to the taste of the period; he is no longer stiff and solemn, and his colouring has become softer. He has become a court artist, and has lost his personal style.

Mīrak may be considered as the founder or reformer of the Bukhārā School, which was also influenced by Bihzād.

The chief painter at the Court of the Shaybānids was Shaikh Sāda Maḥmūd—his signature appears on a miniature in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Suppl. Persan 1416)—who was a pupil both of Mīrak and Bihzād. He worked in their style, but his colouring and conception were harder. His dexterity excites admiration and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish his work from that of his masters. His miniatures, which he often repeated, are easily recognised

by their hard, rather dark green colouring, which makes them appear as if they had been restored, having, moreover, a peculiar tendency to crack. M. Démotte of Paris possesses a large number of manuscripts from the Shaybānid library, which are all ornamented with miniatures by Shaikh Sāda Maḥmūd.

Fig. 27. First Page by Mirak.
From a manuscript dated A.D. 1520. Louis Cartier, Paris.

One of the greatest bibliophiles of the East appears to have been the Uzbeg Sultan of Bukhārā, Abul Ghāzī 'Abd al-'Azīz Bahādur Khān, since we know of several splendid manuscripts which were executed for him:—amongst others, one dated A.H. 928 (A.D. 1522), with four miniatures by Bihzād in the Goloubeff collection at Paris, and one dated A.H. 942 (A.D. 1535), in the collection of M. Louis Cartier, Paris, with three miniatures, one signed by Shaikh Sāda (Fig. 28), and two miniatures, by Bihzād, one of which has been repainted by one of Akbar's artists. Jahāngīr who paid for this manuscript 3,000 gold rupees, which in our money is equivalent to about £10,000, has written on the first page of the book that he "always will keep this before his eyes." It also bears the autographs of later Mughal emperors. Another manuscript[50] of Nizāmī, dated A.H. 944 (A.D. 1537), with two miniatures signed Maḥmūd, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale Suppl. Persan 985 (Plate 121).

The fine manuscript of Būstān of Sa'dī[51], now in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Suppl. Persan 1187) was written for another member of the family, Nūrūz Aḥmad, A.H. 963 (A.D. 1555).

It is possible that in the future many more miniatures will be attributed to the Bukhārā school of the 16th century than have been hitherto. At the present stage of research it is almost an impossible task to identify them with certainty, especially as the miniatures and manuscripts seldom give any support to such an ascription by signatures, or the mention of a patron's name. The works I feel inclined to class as belonging to this school are remarkable for their vivid, strong, but few colours. As a rule they give the effect of being enlarged specimens of Mīrak's works. We know that his school and his style were greatly appreciated at Bukhārā and Samarqand. His simplicity is recognisable everywhere. But the school of Sulṭān Muḥammad was also esteemed by the Shaybānid princes who reigned in Bukhārā throughout the 16th century. A splendid manuscript that recently appeared in Paris, and for which the sum of £6,000 was asked, bears witness to this fact. The British Museum possesses a rich manuscript of the Gulistān of Sa'dī[52] with twelve miniatures (Plates 146, 147) copied after Bihzād. It was executed in Bukhārā, A.H. 975 (A.D. 1567). The earlier miniatures of the Bukhārā school are easily recognisable by the costumes, particularly by the enormous turbans, which, with their irregular folds and hanging ends remind one of those that are to this day worn in Bukhārā, where the enormous white turbans and the gay richly coloured caftans worn by the people make the town one of the richest as regards colouring in the entire East.

The form of the turban is very often a great factor in deciding the age of a miniature. The Timurid turban was folded in even folds with small projecting ends, while the Ṣafavid was characterised by the high, pointed cap around which it was wound in even folds. With the Turks the turbans become still larger, taking various forms under various sultans, nearly every one of them having his own special model.

The best miniatures I have seen of the Bukhārā School were formerly in the possession of Sir Charles H. Read, and now in the collection of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan (Plates 148, 150-52), and they all belong to an album that was composed for Nawwāb Ḥusain Khān[53], governor of Herat. As he died in A.D. 1580 one may well suppose that most of them were executed about the middle of the 16th century. The most remarkable of all is the representation of Sikandar fighting the dragon (Plate 148). May not a

FIG. 28. LANDSCAPE WITH HORSES.
From a manuscript dated A.D. 1535. Signed Shaikh Sāda. Louis Cartier, Paris.

European picture of St. George and the Dragon have inspired this? It has a certain similarity to the bold drawing of Paolo Uccello. It is not impossible that the Spanish Ambassador, Gonzalez de Clavijo[54], who in A.D. 1403 visited Samarqand, left some image or picture of this saint there, and that a copy of it served as the prototype of this picture. It is certain that the European paintings which reached those distant lands were regarded with great interest by the native artists and were also copied by them. Everyone who knows anything of the East will confirm this.

The more one studies these Persian artists, their drawing and their colouring, the more does one admire them, although unfortunately one's admiration for European art suffers, inasmuch as the Persians in many respects are superior to their European contemporaries. The Western drawing seems crude and the colouring feeble and inharmonious in comparison with the Eastern. Naturally it is the primitive masters that suffer most by the comparison: Titian, Rembrandt, Rubens and Velasquez offer no points of comparison, but masters like Pisanello, Bellini, Botticelli, and even Holbein and Dürer, no longer hold that pre-eminence in respect of their drawing or of their colour effects which critics have hitherto accorded them. I really consider that one of England's greatest critics of Italian art was right when he said: "I know nothing more exquisite than a fine Persian miniature." Assuredly a close study of Persian art at its best—may our artists be spared any knowledge of the mediocre products—will have a great and lasting influence on modern art in Europe, which is already proceeding on the lines of art in two dimensions, and from this aspect the Persian miniatures are beyond compare. They are far superior to the Chinese paintings, at least, to most of those which have been shewn in Europe, for the Chinese works are comparatively weak in respect of colour and decorative feeling which the Persian artists understood so much better than any others.

Even amongst the Arabs the love of old books may be traced for many centuries. Yā'qūbī[55] states that there existed in Baghdad more than one hundred booksellers and in some instances the booksellers were the compilers of the works which they sold. The celebrated Yāqūt began to write his big geographical work during the time that he was clerk in a bookseller's shop. At the end of the 10th century a bookseller in Baghdad made a list of all the books which had passed through his hands. This interesting list[56] exists still, and we learn from it that even at that time real bibliophiles and collectors were searching for autographs and fragments of old calligraphy.

He states that in Haditha (a small place in Irak) he made the acquaintance of an amateur who had a real store of old books which he jealously kept. He had a great chest full with manuscripts on parchment, on Egyptian papyrus, on Chinese paper, and on paper from Tihama and from Khurāsān. He also had autographs of historical persons from the earliest days of Islam. Another writer mentions that a manuscript of the commentator of Alexander Aphrodisias on the Akroasis of Aristotle was sold at a sale for 120 dinars[57]. Forgeries were already in these early days not uncommon. The Caliph al-Ma'mūn founded an Academy (The House of Wisdom) with a great library at Baghdad. The first public library was founded there A.H. 813. In Cairo and many other places libraries were founded during the Fatimid dynasty. Baghdad had at its fall, A.D. 1258, 36 public libraries. Rich private persons left money for public libraries to be erected after their deaths. In the enormous palace erected by the Buwayids, A.H. 320-447 (A.D. 932-1055), at Shiraz there was a great library thus described by Muqaddasī: "A special part of the building is devoted to the collection of books. The director is chosen from amongst the honoured persons of the Court. The prince enriched the library with books of all kinds. The great hall consists of a long vaulted room, and around the walls are cases as high as a man, and two yards wide. The cases are painted and gilded and the books lie one upon the other. Each kind of literature has its press, and each press has its catalogue in which the books are carefully described. Only decent persons are allowed entrance." An Arabic scholar tells a story which could well have happened at the present time. "I was in Cordova and went very often to the book bazaar trying to find a very rare book. One day a very fine and rich copy of the work was brought to auction. I bid but was always outbid by an unknown bidder who eventually bought it at much over its value. (In the East the sale of a single object sometimes extends over several days, as the auctioneer himself goes round to the different bidders.) When the price had risen to a ridiculous sum I said to the auctioneer, 'I want to see the man who is willing to give such an enormous sum,' and was conducted to a fine house. I addressed the owner of the house as 'doctor' and said 'I would let him have the book if he really wanted it for his studies.' He answered 'I am not a scholar nor do I know what the subject of the book is, but I am forming a library in order to get a position amongst the rich people of Cordova and having an empty space in which to put this book, and as Allah has given me enough money to buy it, I don't care what I pay for it.'"

Through the following centuries the same love for old books prevailed and ridiculous prices were paid for them, as high in proportion as Americans now pay for Rembrandts and van Dycks. The Mongols, the Timurids, the Mughals, Emperors and Amirs all paid prices which we hardly understand, and it was not unusual for a celebrated manuscript of the Koran to realise a sum that would be equivalent to about a million francs in modern currency.

Collectors complain of the exorbitant prices they are called upon to pay for Persian manuscripts, and yet the highest prices now paid are small in comparison with the sums they cost their former owners. The manuscript for which Jahāngīr paid 3,000 gold rupees, a sum equivalent to £10,000, would not fetch £2,000 at a sale in Paris to-day. From notes and calculations I have made, miniatures by Bihzād were worth hundreds of pounds each, and certain of his manuscripts were then worth ten times more than now. Some decades ago when bibliophiles still existed in the East, far higher prices were paid there than in London or Paris to-day. Revolutions in the East have compelled most collectors and pashas to dispose of their treasures for sums far less than they had themselves paid. Now, as ever, it is the Armenian merchant who derives the greatest benefit from these sales. Manuscripts that formerly would not have been sold even though many thousand pounds had been offered, have recently been sold for as many francs or piastres. During the past three years more precious manuscripts have been offered for sale in Paris than in the whole of the preceding century. Notwithstanding all denials, it is a fact that the deposed Shah sold in secret most of the valuable illuminated manuscripts from his library, and the Imperial princes followed the Shah's example. It is surely one of the ironies of fate that the treasures which were the pride and delight of the Timurid rulers, which were preserved as their most precious possessions by their descendants, the Mughal Emperors of India, and were carried off to Persia as spoils of war by Nādir Shāh, should be sold at ridiculously low prices by an Armenian from Teheran in a third-rate hotel in a back street in Paris. We may well say: *Habent sua fata libelli.*

So early as 1828 General Suchtelen transferred to St. Petersburg one of the finest libraries in Persia, the celebrated library founded by Shāh 'Abbās at the mausoleum of his grandfather at Ardabīl, which contained amongst 166 volumes only about ten manuscripts of the very finest workmanship with miniatures, of which a few are by Bihzād and his school. They are in wonderfully fresh condition, and in original bindings of most exquisite taste. One of the lacquered bindings was certainly painted by Bihzād.

Quite recently the Emperor of Russia has acquired an album[58] with (for the most part) Indian and later Persian miniatures of the very finest kind and of extraordinary profuseness and it has been proved to have come from the Imperial library at Teheran. Some years ago a still more precious album was sold in Paris, the contents of which now form the best portions of the collections of MM. Vignier, Vever, Marteau, Goloubeff, Doucet, Stoclet, etc., etc.

In these pages I have several times used the expression "the Bellini Album," by which I mean the album in which the fine portrait of a Turkish Prince by Gentile Bellini was found, it being assuredly one of the most extraordinary albums ever executed in the East.

It was only by good fortune and after lengthy research that I was able to trace out the vicissitudes of its history.

It was put together about A.D. 1600 in Turkey, probably for Sultan Aḥmad, A.H. 1012-1026 (A.D. 1603-1617), and was originally a very thick volume. It remained in the possession of the various sultans until about forty years ago, when a large number of its pages were photographed. The plates were soon afterwards sold to a photographer who, after printing a few copies for which he found no sale, destroyed the plates. A complete collection of these photographs is to be found in the library of the Musée des Arts decoratifs in Paris[59]. In its original form the album contained a large number of the most wonderful drawings of animals in the Chinese style, early ornamental drawings for divers kinds of work (many of them executed at the commencement of the 15th century), a few 13th century miniatures, a copy of the famous early Florentine etching representing Scanderbeg (not Sultan Muḥammad the Conqueror as it has been suggested by some writers), of which the copy now in the Print Room of the Berlin library is considered to be unique, etc., etc.

Fortunately, the photographer took the last page, shewing the Imperial tughrā, which has since been erased from the original. The album was presented by the Sultan 'Abdul 'Azīz to one of the highest dignitaries of Turkey who was a great bibliophile; after his demise it was divided among his sons, and it was from one of them I bought the portion I possess. Pages could be filled with the story of all the adventures experienced by this album from the time it left the Turk's house until it was brought into my room at the Swedish Legation at Constantinople. There are some things that can happen nowhere but in the East. In addition to a large number of uninteresting European engravings of the close of the

16th century, the portion I purchased contains some of the finest and most important miniatures I have seen and most of them are reproduced in this work.

Another album of the most exquisite taste and unsurpassed richness is the famous album[60] in the Imperial library at Vienna. It was formed in A.H. 980 (A.D. 1572), and presented to Sultan Murād III. by Muḥammad Jandahrahjī-zāda. It contains many interesting miniatures, some of extraordinary beauty. The arabesque borders are unsurpassed in richness of colour and design. It is a real Imperial Turkish codex, in every way worthy of the grandson of Sulaimān the Magnificent.

I was shown twelve years ago in the private library of Sultan 'Abdul Ḥamīd at the Yildiz Kiosk a most splendid album with miniatures in Chinese style and decorative pages of finer and rarer style than any I had before seen. Is it still in safe custody there?

Fig. 29. Portrait of Sultan Salim.
By Āqā Riżā. Goloubeff Collection. Paris.

Chapter VI

Shāh Ṭahmāsp and his Court Artists

SULṬĀN MUḤAMMAD, the most productive of all the painters at the Court of the young Shāh Ṭahmāsp, who ascended the throne A.D. 1524, was a pupil both of Bihzād and Mīrak; from Bihzād he acquired the active movements, the ease of grouping, and the

Fig. 30.
A Prince playing a Flute.

By Āqā Riżā.
Goloubeff Collection. Paris.

genre-like style, while from Mīrak he derived the elegance of his figures. But he also came directly under the influence of Chinese paintings. His faces are sometimes copied directly from pictures of the Ming period (A.D. 1368-1644). He even copied drawings of Li Lung-mien who died A.D. 1106 (Plate 102). His figures are often as tightly swathed in their

closely fitting garments as the Parisian ladies were in the autumn of 1911. They are very elegantly dressed and there is a sweet smile on their lips, but it is difficult for them to move. This artist is lovable but has no high aims. He invariably represents persons who look happy. They sit under blossoming trees, and appear to regard life under its brightest aspects (Plates 103–5, 109). He always puts his figures in the open air. He is the painter of happy country life, of picnics rather than battle scenes. Hunting (Plates 114–117) takes the place of ceremonies. He painted several portraits of his Sovereign, the young Shāh Ṭahmāsp (Plates 109–111). Now and again it can be shewn that he copied and enlarged miniatures by Mīrak and Bihzād. The large "Loving Couple" (Plate 112) in light blue and pink is an almost exact copy of a painting by Mīrak executed in deep blue and violent reds.

The large and lifelike hunting scene, now in the Imperial library at St. Petersburg (Plates 116, 117), is certainly a work of Muḥammad. He often enlarged the works which inspired him. This is one of the largest miniatures I have seen. No other Persian painter drew such large miniatures, not even the artists of Shāh 'Abbās who loved to have everything on a larger scale than others. It will be noticed that he has grouped the figures in the style of Bihzād, but the execution is far from being that of this master, since there is too much that is conventional in the separate figures. This was just the distinguishing trait of Sulṭān Muḥammad's school. Here, there, and everywhere one finds the same faces, the same lines of the upper part of the body, the same arms, and above all, the same identical hands, hands that are incapable of grasping anything, and whose skin is as immovable as the shell of a lobster's claw. Certain portions of the costume are invariably the same, and to these the figures are subsequently joined, just as children put paper figures with movable joints into various positions. If one examines the splendid portrait of a prince (Plate 113) now in the Goloubeff collection and compares it with any one of Muḥammad's other productions it will be found that it is composed of precisely the same parts as the others. His colouring is ever the same. His faces though well modelled are a little too red; the dress is at times a charming brick-red colour, at times pink, light green or light blue. That is the palette he employs. In its consistency the colouring, which is always laid on thickly, has something that reminds one of the Indian school. The white pigment of the folds of the turbans is in relief. In the present portrait the hands and some of the accessories are so thickly covered with pigment that they call to mind Carlo Crivelli's golden ornaments. All these various qualities make it an easy matter to distinguish his works from those of Bihzād and Mīrak. Owing to skilful manipulation and fine colouring they

nevertheless possess a certain charm. Had he not invariably painted according to a fixed rule, he might have become a good artist. It is known that he was skilful in many arts, and I feel fairly certain that he designed patterns for carpets, and that the Emperor of Austria's celebrated hunting carpet is the work of Muḥammad's hand. Of all the painters with whose work I am acquainted there is not one whose style is more similar, and I can identify the angels in the carpet with those in a manuscript where he has drawn them in the same peculiar, somewhat archaic, manner. If this assumption be correct the carpet was made during the first half of the 16th century, a supposition that I have always held, but did not venture to advance in my work on Oriental carpets for fear of putting myself too much in opposition to the prevailing opinion. I have preferred to arrive step by step to a clear insight into the intricacies of Persian art.

I also attribute to the hand of Muḥammad the celebrated drawing of a camel belonging to Mr. Charles Ricketts, of London (Plate 118). It is assuredly not by Bihzād or any of his predecessors, as is proved by the Ṣafavid form of the driver's turban, if by nothing else; moreover, in many respects, the animal reminds me of the camels in the large picture of the hunt (Plate 117). The manner of drawing is also Muḥammad's; no one was so skilful as he in producing a drawing with a few long lines somewhat accentuated.

The most sumptuous monument of Persian miniature painting of the 16th century belongs to Baron Edmond de Rothschild, of Paris (Plates 122-129, 249). It is a Shāh Nāmah executed by the order of Shāh Ṭahmāsp in A.H. 944 (A.D. 1537), when he was at the height of his power, the manuscript bearing full proof thereof. It was copied by the artist and calligrapher Qāsim Asriri. A more magnificent manuscript probably does not exist. There are 256 large miniatures with a mass of figures in profuse architectural surroundings or landscapes. The richness of colouring and detail on these leaves is quite astounding. But though all the court artists worked simultaneously on this miraculous specimen of the art of bookmaking, a feeling of fatigue is apparent early in the volume and communicates itself to the person who duly looks at all these pictures. It is quite obvious that these artists, who were obliged to obey the commands of the Shah, and deliver an infinity of pictures, despaired of discovering new motives and novel groupings. Every combination of colouring was employed, every grouping of the profuse Persian scenes was depicted and yet the Shah still commanded: More! More!! A wonderful manuscript such as the world had never beheld was to be created. All that the Timurid artists created, all that Bihzād's

active imagination or Mīrak's elegant brush produced, were copied, recopied, and made subservient to the reigning taste of the day. A miracle of display was the result, but it was not a consummate work of art, since it would have been impossible to fuse all those various styles and get the artists to work in harmony. The task was too great, and far exceeded the powers of the artists.

A remarkable manuscript[61] with only five miniatures, of which two are signed by Sulṭān Muḥammad and one by Shaikh Sāda, has been offered for sale by MM. Tabbagh frères. It came from the private library of the Shah. One scene of dancing women in a dark green landscape, probably a work by Mīrak, stands almost alone in Persian art. This manuscript shews what the Rothschild manuscript ought to have been had the Shah not asked too much of his artists. Unfortunately the owner has not allowed it to be photographed.

The Nizāmī of the British Museum (Or. 2265), executed at Tabriz for the Shah, A.H. 946–949 (A.D. 1539–1543), containing only thirteen miniatures (Plates 130–140), and many hundred borderings in various colours of gold, of a richness in execution and motives such as only orientals can create. It is in my opinion the finest 16th century Persian manuscript in existence. The signatures of Mīrak, Sulṭān Muḥammad, Mīr Sayyid 'Alī, Maulānā Muẓaffar 'Alī, Mīrzā 'Alī, shew that the best court artists collaborated on this marvel of books.

This manuscript contains the most magnificent painting, so far as my knowledge goes, ever produced in Persia, viz., the splendid composition representing Muḥammad's Ascension to Heaven (Plate 140). I can hardly place any religious painting that I have seen in Europe on a higher level than this picture. It is not only the grand composition that makes it so remarkable but the elegant drawing of each separate figure, and the incomparable colouring of the deep blue sky. The various colours of the golden lightning, bring to my mind each time I look at the picture the tones of Wagner's Feuerzauber, as played by the orchestra of the Royal Opera at Vienna. The other leaves are among the very best produced by the artists of the 16th century, and the scribe, the celebrated Shāh Maḥmūd Nishāpūrī in the colophon is quite right when he says of it "the like of which the eye of time never beheld." For connoisseurs of Persian art it is of great importance and interest, since most of the pictures are signed by the chief artists during the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp.

Even if it be admitted that some of these signatures were not written by the artists themselves, they must, however, be contemporaneous or nearly

SIKANDAR ON HIS THRONE

SULṬĀN MUḤAMMAD SCHOOL

About A.D. 1530

so, and therefore give some authority for deciding the character of their manner of painting. Unfortunately the time had already come when the artists did not differ so very much, the one from the other, and the Imperial Academy of Arts of Shāh Ṭahmāsp had already caused many of them to lose a great deal of their individuality.

In the same style as the paintings in the Rothschild manuscript, are those depicted on Plates 141–143, though in size they bear no comparison. They shew the very rare representation of blossoming rose bushes and fruit laden trees executed in a manner that recalls the Italian painters of the quattrocento. The figures appear to have been influenced by the school of Bukhārā. The manuscript from which they are taken is dated A.H. 945 (A.D. 1539), and the calligraphy is by the celebrated Shāh Maḥmūd Nishāpūrī.

A manuscript of Qazvīnī in the Goloubeff collection contains some drawings of plants and trees on a gold ground (Fig. 31) executed with a delicacy and taste unsurpassed by even the best Japanese artists of the 17th century.

An artist about whom I have been utterly unable to obtain any information is Ṣādiq, although his signature, sometimes genuine but often false, frequently appears. I presume that he was one of Bihzād's pupils who made drawings in his master's manner but with much thicker and more accentuated lines, without being able to attain to the dexterity of the master which, judging from a portrait (Plate 92), he does not appear to have striven to acquire. He is, perhaps, the author of the drawings depicted on Plate 93, which shew the vigour of a Bihzād, especially in the horseman, the source of which must certainly be a Chinese original of the Yüan or early Ming period. It is only necessary to compare it with the Tartar by Bihzād (Plate 87), to see the difference in drawing. At the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris there is a small drawing in the same style, falsely signed Bihzād (Fig. 32).

After about A.D. 1545 nothing new appears to have been created. The good artists of the Timurid school died, and the new ones that sprang up shewed little originality, contenting themselves with keeping to the old tracks. Āqā Riẓā[62], who was a pupil of the famous Mīr 'Alī of Herat, revived the extreme fineness of Bihzād. The few known works by his hand (Plates 106, 110, 161) are of an extreme delicacy, but he did not create anything new. He copied pictures of Sulṭān Muḥammad and others on a smaller scale than the originals, but with unsurpassed charm in line and colour. Figs. 29 and 30 shew two portraits by his hand. He died at Bukhārā in A.D. 1573.

Kamāl, a man of whose works we still possess several examples that are really signed by himself, excelled in painting hair with surprising

dexterity, trait and skill, this being best shewn in Plate 120. Many artists are mentioned by Persian authors of whose work we have at present no trace. Most of them were only copyists and hardly worth studying.

During the latter part of the 16th century many rich manuscripts were doubtless executed, but none that will bear comparison with those produced in the preceding epoch. Plate 144 reproduces a miniature representing Kai Khusrau and his army crossing the lake of Zarah which was executed about A.H. 998 (A.D. 1590). It is simply a copy of what Bihzād had painted a hundred years previously. It comes from a dismembered copy of the Shāh Nāmah that at one time belonged to the Shāh 'Abbās. Its careless execution shews that even in work for the Imperial library decadence had begun. In the crowds delineated on Plate 145, there is still both life and character, but the nobility of the ancient time has disappeared. What was created after the middle of the 16th century was merely shewy and meretricious. The love for art for itself died with the great artists of the Timurid school. A period of cheap art now followed.

Fig. 31. Four Miniatures.
From a Qazvini manuscript, from about A.D. 1550. Goloubeff Collection, Paris.

Chapter VII

Shāh ʿAbbās and the Riẓā School

In every work on Persia and her art the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās is praised as the most glorious period in Persian history, and the most uncultivated Persian hamal has Shāh ʿAbbās' name on his lips and considers that all that is best and most glorious of Persian creative genius is embodied in Shāh ʿAbbās and his capital, Ispahan. This conclusion is as correct as the assumption that Berlin and St. Petersburg are the most beautiful cities in Europe, and that during the reign of the Emperor William II. the finest flowers of German art have flourished on the sandy plains of Brandenburg. Shāh ʿAbbās had huge buildings erected in his capital, on a larger and coarser scale than their ancient prototypes, and he endeavoured to shew Europe how great and wealthy Irān was, and to what a degree of culture he had himself attained. He received ambassadors and, in his turn, despatched embassies with rich presents to nearly all the courts of Europe. The carpets and figured velvets in Copenhagen[63] and Venice shew how keen he was to make the products of Irān known throughout the world. He welcomed European travellers in order that they might sing his praises. No one then saw, and in true Oriental manner His Majesty took good care that nobody should see, that almost everything was but an imitation of what previous generations had already created on a far smaller scale but in far nobler forms. His entire propensity appears to be that of a parvenu trying to parade his newly acquired riches. His predecessors had shown great interest in the arts of calligraphy and miniature painting. What was more natural than that Shāh ʿAbbās should do the same! The chief condition, however, for any favour being shewn to the artist was that the royal will should be submissively followed and be the sole standard observed by the artist. His court was to be glorified, and thus arose the Shāh ʿAbbās style, the delight of all European tourists. The motive that occurs here, there and everywhere —ladies and gentlemen in rich costumes in affected positions, with utterly

inane faces and brainless heads—is found not only in the faience and frescoes of the palaces, on velvet and silk, on copper saucepans and faience jars, but wheresoever there was space for them to be placed, however unsuitable this motive may have been.

Fig. 32. Portrait of Riẓā 'Abbāsī.
Painted after his death by Mu'in Musavvir. B. Quaritch.

I am well aware that it will be considered heresy on my part to venture to assail the art of this period, but I am convinced that anyone who will take the trouble to thoroughly study what Persian art produced during the Timurid and Shāh Ṭahmāsp periods will admit that I am correct. The Bolognese school of Persia had begun.

A brilliant monarch like Shāh 'Abbās was bound to have an Academy for painting at his court, since such existed in Europe, and therefore a troup of mediocre artists was summoned to the court in Ispahan, and since they, or at any rate most of them, had not the genius to create new ideas, they began to imitate and copy what their predecessors had produced. Good proof of this is given in the description (which, although made in all seriousness, is highly comical) by the author of the Manāqib, written at the commencement of Shāh 'Abbās' reign and inserted at the close of this work[64]. We there learn that an artist, "after having copied a certain master for a number of years, became at last so thoroughly imbued with the master's style that he was able to create in exactly the same manner." How well they succeeded is shewn by the works that they have themselves stated to be copies of their

FIG. 33. DRAWING.
Signed by Riẓā ʿAbbāsi. Goloubeff Collection, Paris.

FIG. 34. DRAWING.
Signed Bihzād, but probably by Ṣādiq. B.M.

FIG. 35. DRAWING.
By Riẓā ʿAbbāsi. B.M.

FIG. 36. DRAWING.
Perhaps by Riẓā ʿAbbāsi. Bellini Album. F.R.M.

masters' creations or whose sketches they have duly finished. These copies possess far more of the characteristics of Shāh 'Abbās' period than would have been expected, and are no more satisfactory than the Japanese attempts to copy European masters.

The Academy of the Shah produced hundreds and hundreds of these lanky ladies and gentlemen in affected positions, which now and again possess a certain charm, but can bear no comparison with the sound art of Bihzād and Mīrak. The colouring, which in ancient days was powerful but invariably harmonious, lost power and became still more deficient in harmony. One no longer sees that old shimmer and glimmer in the colouring, combined with exceedingly minute and beautiful details. Moreover, the pigments themselves have deteriorated and are made of less costly materials. The older miniatures often remind one of the costliness met with in the ornaments made by the gold enamellers of the Byzantine and Renaissance periods. This disappeared in Shāh 'Abbās' time. In earlier days great pains were devoted to the background, more especially if any architecture were represented. In Shāh 'Abbās' time the figures are placed in front of a bush or surrounded by little plants, often drawn in gold. It is noteworthy that the development can easily be followed. Sulṭān Muḥammad and other pupils of Bihzād invariably placed the sitters whose portraits they drew, in front of a blossoming tree, the branches of which filled the background in a superb manner. This practice was continued during the greater part of the 16th century. The artist Qāsim made the trunk of a tree alone serve as a background, the leaves simply occurring on the upper part of the painting (Plate 165). In Shāh 'Abbās' day the tree was completely eliminated and leaves were placed so that they entirely filled the background, or small plants were grouped round the figures. This form of decoration soon became the prevailing fashion. The textiles of the time of Shāh 'Abbās that still exist (when the original colours have not faded) shew how crude and garish the taste was then. Several of the velvets and silks exhibited at Munich in A.D. 1910 amply shewed this[65]. Grand and shewy as everything was intended to be under his influence, the fine poetical works that had inspired so many artists were no longer held in esteem, but were eclipsed by the Shāh Nāmah, the poem of kings and heroes, which was deemed the only book worthy of being illustrated and perpetuated. Until this period it had previously been illustrated only on a moderate scale, if the huge copy owned by Baron Edmond de Rothschild be excepted.

No Persian artist is so well known in Europe as Riẓā. With him (as with Hokusai in the days of yore), thanks to his enormous production, the

fact of his name being easy to pronounce and remember, and certain peculiarities that please the superficial observer, he has obtained a popularity which was as easy to gain as it will be to fade away. Several hundreds of his drawings are still preserved, and quite as many miniatures, most of which are considerably inferior to his sketches. Riẓā was a calligraphic artist, i.e., lines were his forte, and his feats appear to me almost acrobatic. His combination of colours is not to my taste, since he is fond of putting a reddish-violet in conjunction with blue, a combination that reminds me of withered orchids. In his miniatures a certain affectation and intricacy in the position of the figures is often noticeable, without any fine decorative effect or line being the result. His figures seldom possess any great distinction and all have the same indolent, wearied facial expression. Apparently theirs was a pleasure-loving court. It is impossible to tell whether these sugary faces belong to men or women, unless in scenes which are best kept in the secret cabinet at the Naples Museum. As a designer he has, however, now and again produced some

FIG. 37. DRAWING HEIGHTENED WITH GOLD. About A.D. 1600. Goloubeff Collection.

FIG. 38. DRAWING WITH A LITTLE COLOUR. About A.D. 1600. F.R.M.

charming drawings that suggest comparison with the Tanagra figures (Plate 157); in these it is apparent that he has himself enjoyed his own skill in wielding the kalam, and the lines with which he depicts the draperies are as if created by harmonious music. In Dr. Sarre's collection in Berlin, and in the Vignier, Goloubeff and Besnard collections in Paris, there are many beautiful sketches (Plates 157–160, 162, 163). Dr. Sarre's collection, originally an album[66], is most interesting, since it shews how Riẓā worked, and how he copied sketches made by the old masters, Bihzād and others, whom he attempted to imitate, and records this in notes on the pictures in which he mentions that he has copied or completed the works of more ancient masters.

The biographical data we possess concerning Riẓā do not give him credit for any loftiness of character. His nickname or surname Shāhnawāz (the flatterer of the Shah) shews that he was a courtier—and that he was conceited is proved by his carefully signing the most insignificant sketches. This fact makes one feel the more what a pity it is that the great artists, e.g., Bihzād and Mīrak, had not also done so. In spite of all Riẓā's skill one soon tires of this playing with lines, and having seen ten of his sketches one has seen them all.

One of Riẓā's pupils, Mu'īn Muṣavvir, carried his master's sport with the brush still farther, his animal delineations appearing to be mere calligraphic wantonness (Plates 163, 164). He has done a great service by drawing the portrait of his master Riẓā 'Abbāsī (Fig. 32), the only authentic portrait of a Persian artist known. At a later period the pupils and imitators of Riẓā adhered closely to certain mannerisms of their master, e.g., certain strongly accentuated lines which appear as if done with the pen, while the outlines of the figures are sketched according to a fixed rule; this gave rise to a hideous line accentuating the lower part of the back. This manner of exaggerating the curve of the figure so peculiar to the Riẓā school, doubtless arose from the wish to imitate Chinese prototypes, which during the reign of Shāh 'Abbās were largely imported into Persia, chiefly in the form of blue and white porcelain of great richness of decoration but of inferior quality, and also in various kinds of other cheap productions.

If the portraits and the separate genre miniatures shew a decadence, it is far more apparent in the manuscripts. Almost the only book illustrated was the Shāh Nāmah, and the output of this work was enormous. Large studios existed in which each individual had his own special detail, so that the work might be done more quickly and the price consequently be lower. Specimens of the time of Shāh Ṭahmāsp were copied and simplified in every possible way. The figures were always the same without

any attempt at individualisation, and the costumes invariably alike. Buildings and trees in the background were simplified or left out. There was no attempt at copying the splendid trees of Bihzād or the complicated ornaments on the walls of his buildings. The aim was speed and cheapness. Among all the many hundred copies of the Shāh Nāmah of the 17th century that

FIG. 39. DRAWING.
By Riẓā 'Abbāsi, after Bihzād. Demotte Collection, Paris.

I have examined in the public and private collections throughout Europe but few shew any traces of the former glory. In the Imperial library at St. Petersburg there is a copy which was illuminated by Muḥammad Riẓā, shewing what was best in his art, especially as regards colouring. The colours employed are green and a peculiar blue tone, gold of a red shade being lavishly employed. This rare combination of colour has a great charm.

I have not represented any page from the Shāh Nāmahs of the 17th century for the simple reason that photography accentuates the bad drawing of the figures so strongly that it would make them appear worse than they are in reality, for in the originals the colouring throws a redeeming shimmer over the pictures. Nevertheless they are still of a higher standard than many European works of art for which high prices are paid. As time passed, however, the manuscripts became worse and worse, and only very rarely is a page met with that possesses fine colouring.

That Oriental miniatures were brought to Europe in the 17th century is proved not only by Rembrandt's copies of those of Indian artists, but also by many illustrated works on Persia, published in Europe during the 17th century, containing wood-cuts[67], which were evidently copied from sketches by Riẓā or his school.

CHAPTER VIII

Persian Painters in the 18th and 19th Centuries

THE pompous descriptions given by European travellers to Persia in the 17th century, the endeavours of the Shah to open up mercantile connections with the Occident, introducing as it did into the country both European workmen and goods, gave the death-blow to Persian art, since with their customary inclination to imitate everything that is foreign, the Persians commenced their imitative work and were eagerly encouraged by the Shah. At this period, Persia, as was the case with Turkey, became the dumping place for goods that were out of fashion and difficult to sell in Europe. It has been the same in all ages, that wares, for which there was no longer a market in Europe, were sold to the East. This fact explains why it was so usual in former days to find furniture of the 16th and 17th centuries in those countries. Some thirty years ago there was a hotel at Constantinople, in which there were several rooms furnished with French Louis XV and Louis XVI suites of very good quality. The owner had bought them from the Sultan's palace and from the Pashas, who in their turn had obtained them from Paris during the first Empire.

It has already been observed that Yūsuf, an artist of the commencement of the 17th century, dressed his figures in European costume (Plates 155, 156), and had evidently been influenced by European modelling in regard to his portraits. The picture of a French prince, Plate 172 (in all probability the young Duc de Condé), is apparently a copy of a painting by Philippe de Champagne, which was probably sent as a present to the Shah by Louis XIV when he intended to fight the Turks with the assistance of the Persians. According to the Persian inscription Plate 170 is a portrait of Chardin, the celebrated traveller, who has given us such life-like and excellent descriptions of the Court at Ispahan and of Persia, but from the appearance

of the man and more especially from the costume, which is that of the middle of the 16th century, I conclude that a mistake has been committed, and that a portrait of Charles V formed the basis of it. There is a similarity in the spelling of Charles and Chardin which may account for a misreading by an Oriental of the former name. The picture on Plate 172 representing the Pope blessing a Legate, Francisco Acosta, previous to his departure for India, is also copied from an Italian painting. The Roman Catholic divines who started for the East took with them not only engravings and missals in large numbers but also oil-paintings, both for their own edification and for presents.

Ibn Ḥājī Yūsuf Muḥammad Zamān, has signed two copies of Italian paintings executed on a minute scale, representing the visit of Elizabeth to the Virgin Mary and the Flight into Egypt (Plate 173). Other artists have depicted Faust and Marguerite (Plate 171) and various subjects equally foreign to Persia. These paintings have for two hundred years been ranked higher by Persians than the works of Bihzād and Mīrak, and perhaps are still considered superior to their creations, so deep is the decadence in Persia.

It was during this period of decadence that lacquer-painting received a new impetus. It was introduced from China during the Timurid period, very charming works being made of this material particularly at the commencement of the Ṣafavid rule—bookbindings and qalamdán (boxes for pens and ink-pots), small cupboards decorated with hunting scenes, etc. etc. Bihzād and Sulṭān Muḥammad himself painted such. At the close of the 17th century and during the whole of the 18th century, as also in the 19th, no branch of art—with the sole exception of that of the carpets—enjoyed such popularity as these objects of lacquer work ornamented with European motives, not only among Persians, but also among European connoisseurs and collectors. The artists often mixed scenes from Holy History with Persian erotic subjects.

The European delineations of flowers became still more popular, probably because numbers of old herbals were exported to Persia from Europe, and also because a European floral artist[68] was appointed at the Court, to teach the artists of the Shah to draw *à la franca*. Nevertheless, Persian tradition possessed peculiar strength and longevity, and no long time elapsed before the Persians dropped most of what was European in these drawings, and gave them their own strongly decorative character. Persia had artists who drew flowers with the same elegance and love of detail as Dürer.

These flowers were invariably endowed with a decorative effect that is not attained in any other country. Take, for instance, those large flowers in

a manuscript in the Imperial library at Vienna, dated A.H. 1145 (A.D. 1732) (Plate 223). The large red blossoms with their vivid green leaves remind one of the Byzantine enamelling in gold. The artist who painted them had evidently drawn the borders for the splendid gold and silk belts sent from Persia to India and *vice versa*, of which every Indian Prince during the 17th and 18th centuries had a collection. They are found in all Indian portraits. While these belts were in great demand in Poland and Russia in the 18th century, Mazarski founded his celebrated manufactory, which later on gave support to the legend, so difficult to uproot, that carpet manufactories existed in Poland in the 16th century. The degenerate offspring of these sashes are still worn with much ostentation by every Russian coachman.

Occasionally, even so late as about A.D. 1700, a good portrait was executed in Persia, e.g., the four portraits of a Tartar Embassy, in which the artist has amused himself with the ugliness of His Excellency the Ambassador, and in a remarkable manner succeeded in depicting the cunning of the Tartar's physiognomy (Plate 167).

It is not my intention to maintain that a renaissance set in during the reign of Nādir Shāh, but as is invariably the case in the East, so soon as a great ruler is on the throne Art makes a new departure and flourishes again. The quantity of splendid valuables[69] brought home from Dehli by the Shah, especially jewellery and the famous Imperial library of the Mughal rulers, gave the artists new ideas. The Shah certainly took back with him the few good artists who were still connected with the Indian Court, and the few miniatures still existing of this time shew that the Indian style of painting became fashionable for a short period in Persia.

The portrait of Nādir Shāh (Plate 168) is striking owing to the extraordinary colouring and the way the head and particularly his beard are painted. The face is painted in the manner used by Sulṭān Muḥammad and the Indian artists, without any visible stroke of the brush, but the black beard of the Shah is an extraordinary piece of workmanship. I have never seen a Persian beard painted in such an absolutely realistic manner. Almost every hair in this thick black mass is shewn distinctly and it must have been painted with thousands of microscopic strokes of the brush. The magnificent red colour of the costume suits his dark head splendidly. The pearls would make the richest and most extravagant American woman envious, and yet they formed but a small part of what he looted at Dehli. Jewellery to the value of twenty millions of pounds was his spoil there, and the small remnant thereof which the present Shah wears on state occasions still surpasses the jewel chest of any European monarch.

It might well be imagined that so complete a decadence as Persia witnessed during the 19th century would prevent anything of any importance being produced, but I cannot omit to mention that portraits were now and again painted, which, although they cannot bear comparison with Bihzād's, yet have a very striking realism as their chief characteristic. The eyes of the Persian official on Plate 169 appear to be endowed with life, and the face possesses qualities that can be compared with the works of earlier days.

In the time of Shāh 'Abbās large oil-paintings were made depicting his feats, or in glorification of the historical events in Persia. The walls of many palaces were covered with these miserable works of art which contrasted with the faience panelling and the rich gilded ceilings. They shew how decadent the Shāh 'Abbās period really was, how the sense of the decorative was lost, how only large and rich and shewy things were appreciated just as in our own days. In the 19th century this fashion still continued. Now and again the face of such a portrait is a success, but the costume has become a shapeless mass, and the position is stiff, without the slightest character. The Persian artists of the present day, except the tailors, appear to have totally lost their former appreciation for the decorative. Will it return, or is it lost for ever?

PORTRAIT OF SHÁH JAHÁN

About A.D. 1640

CHAPTER IX

Indian Miniature Painting

THE term Indo-Persian has in my opinion been incorrectly applied to Indian miniature painting. It is precisely the same as if one called the French art of the 16th century Franco-Italian. It was only in the very beginning, during the reign of Akbar, A.D. 1556–1605, that Persian influence was apparent, and very soon an individual style was developed so different from the Persian that there can be no question of any mistake arising between the two. Persians of the Herat school were assuredly the first teachers of the art, although we do not know the names of any of the Persians who entered the service of the Indian Emperor. It is only at the middle of the 17th century that we discover a painter whose name shews that he came from Persia, or more correctly from Samarqand, viz., Muḥammad Nādir, who invariably signed his name with the addition of Sámarqandī. In his art, however, there is no trace of his native country, he is completely Indian in that respect.

The Emperor Bābar (A.D. 1526–1530), the paternal grandfather of Akbar, was interested in painting, and he collected and took with him to India every specimen he could possibly obtain from the library of his ancestors, the Timurids, some of which returned to Persia on the conquest of Dehli by Nādir Shāh. These manuscripts exercised the greatest influence on the art of India. Artists were appointed to copy and if possible surpass them, and Akbar especially, a great man in the fullest sense of the word, tried to create an art that would bear comparison with that of the court of his ancestors, and a long list of the artists whom he employed and supported right royally is in existence. His biographer, Abul Faẓl, proudly states in his Ā'īn i Akbarī: "Most excellent painters are now here and masterpieces worthy of a Bihzād may well be placed side by side with the wonderful works of European painters that have attained world-wide fame." Abul Faẓl little knew how true this was, although it was not until two hundred years later that a great

European connoisseur condescended to confirm the statement. So far as I know, Sir Joshua Reynolds in A.D. 1777 was the first connoisseur to acknowledge that Indian miniature painting was anything extraordinary, and to declare his great admiration of the drawings depicted in Plates 184-191, inserted in an album (Add. 18801) in the British Museum. It was his enthusiastic praise which inspired me with the courage to carry out the plan of writing this work, in spite of many warnings not to attempt to interest the European lovers of art in Oriental painting. That was in the year of Grace, 1905.

Whether Rembrandt was interested in anything but the mere representation of the miniatures we know not, but it is still an interesting fact that he held them worthy to be copied, and I refer the reader to the interesting articles[70] by Dr. F. Sarre on Rembrandt and Indian paintings. I scarcely think that his album was of a very superior quality, as the miniatures which reached Europe during the 16th and 17th centuries were not of fine quality. The really good miniatures were far too expensive in the East for any European to care to purchase them, and the Orientals were unwilling to dispose of them.

Everything appears to point to the fact that, especially in India, a number of copyists were engaged in reproducing the works of the various masters, just as in Europe drawings by the great masters were copied by the dozen during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. These copies took the place of the photographic processes used in our own day. It was not until the 18th century that numbers of fine Oriental miniatures were brought to England by the servants of the Hon. East India Company, and as their ancestors collected large numbers of artistic treasures in Italy during the 17th century so did they collect in India all the fine work they could meet with.

Indian miniatures anterior to the time of Akbar are very rare. They are all Indian translations of Persian originals. It was Bihzād's paintings particularly, and Sulṭān Muḥammad's scenes so full of figures and life, that appear to have appealed to the taste of the Indian ruler rather than Mīrak's stiff but charming compositions, however splendid they were in colouring. The Indian artists always made their copies richer than the originals. It is a purely Oriental trait to try to copy, to surpass and to render richer whatever they hear greatly praised, not only works of art, but everything else. The success attending their efforts is sometimes seen in Turkey of our own day.

The earlier miniatures are distinguished by a certain attempt at severity, if anything can be severe under the glowing sun of India. They appear to be entirely uninfluenced by European art, which first becomes

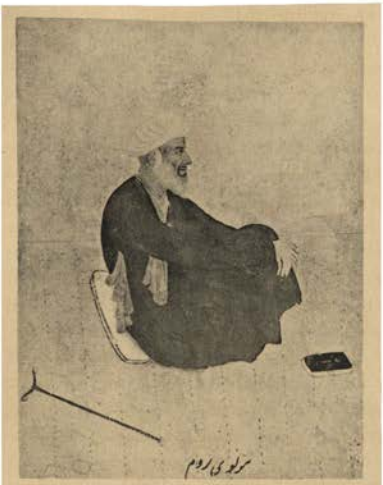


Fig. 40. Portrait of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. Goloubeff collection.

apparent at the close of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century. Of the marvellous manuscripts mentioned in Indian histories, one at least has been handed down to us in a perfect state of preservation, while another has been cut to pieces in order that the miniatures might be sold separately. The former, a chef d'œuvre of the Akbar School, now belongs to Mr. Dyson Perrins. It reached Paris in the summer of 1909, where it was vainly offered for sale, until it was purchased by Mr. Bernard Quaritch. Without exception it is the most wonderful Indian manuscript in Europe, not only for its unsurpassed beauty and its profuse gold borders, but also on account of its marvellous state of preservation, and its splendid pedigree. As it constitutes a resumé of the art of the court of Akbar, I have had a large number (Plates 178-183) of its thirty-eight miniatures reproduced, and they are the more interesting by being signed by most of the Court painters enumerated in the list of Abul Faẓl. Nearly all of them appear to have worked in the same style, and notwithstanding the (I may well say) million miniatures I have examined, and thus trained my eyes to a pretty good skill in distinguishing the different methods in which the various masters worked, I cannot, with one or two exceptions, distinguish sufficient

Fig. 41. Sketch for a Portrait. F.R.M.

differences to enable me to give a characteristic description of the various masters; that must be left for those who feel inclined to consider in more detail this marvel of the bookmaking art.

During this period portraits are rare, and most of the portraits of Bābar, Humāyūn and Akbar are later copies of originals which have now disappeared, or else they are simply fancy portraits. A Prince on horseback (Plate 177) is perhaps one of the very few that was really drawn from life.

The son and successor of Akbar, Jahāngīr (A.D. 1605-1628), and Shāh Jahān (A.D. 1628-1659) were both lovers of art and employed a vast number of artists, but as it is almost impossible to shew the differences that exist between the styles of these two rulers, and as the same artists worked for both, I must treat the entire first half of the 17th century as one period, leaving to future writers to enter into details and reconsider my conclusions.

At this time portrait painting became fashionable, and the Emperor himself and his entire court had their portraits painted. There are few courts that one knows so well by its portraiture as that of the Mughal Emperors. Dignitaries and military men of various rank were depicted, the number of these portraits amounting to hundreds, and almost without exception the sitter is represented standing, with the face in profile. The position is invariably the same, as Court ceremony demanded that the hands should be laid on the stomach, a position that is obligatory when a subject is addressed by a monarch, or other high dignitary in the East. When the monarch addressed an officer, it was customary for the latter to place one hand on the hilt of his sword, as a sign that he was prepared to carry out any order without loss of time and he was permitted to render plain his reply by making a gesture with his other hand. In the same way as the positions are monotonous, so the types of the faces are dissimilar. The profiles of these Indian nobles are drawn with such a firm hand and the lines are so sure that Holbein would have been proud of having produced them. Had that great German artist ever seen them he would certainly have expressed the same admiration for them that Sir Joshua Reynolds did. There is not a moment's doubt as to whether the likeness is striking or not. With what extreme piety are all the many details executed! A goldsmith could estimate the value of the jewellery from these pictures. The ornaments of the dagger, the chief weapon of an Indian, are wonderful, although the weapon itself with its precious jewelled hilt and scabbard had, as a rule, a blade of very bad iron. The Timurid princes spent large sums on inlaying the blade with gold and mounted the dagger in a simple hilt and still simpler sheath. What a superb colour effect must have been caused by blood on the black

blade inlaid with gold! The Persians were ready to use their weapons, but for the Indians, they existed solely as a means of displaying their riches and precious stones. Most of these dignitaries are dressed in white muslin robes, while their turbans and belts are of silk interwoven with gold of a much finer and more expensive quality than that used by the Persians and which was subsequently imitated by Mazarski in the 18th century in Poland. Indian princes paid fabulous prices for such fragile fabrics.

It is a remarkable characteristic of the Indian artist to allow every object to have an individual effect without any idea of grouping. This is especially seen in his portraits, the sitters being invariably placed against an unbroken background, with a few small plants on the ground. It was only in the very early days of Indian art that any attempt at grouping was made, and this was entirely due to Persian influence.

At the close of Jahāngīr's reign, and more particularly in the time of Shāh Jahān, a fashion came into vogue, in which only the head was finished, while the body was but outlined. These portraits were executed with a brush as fine as that of Bihzād, every effort being concentrated on the expression of the eye and profile: even the colour of the complexion is but faintly expressed (Plates 185–191).

I am led intuitively to think that these are imitations of similar portraits drawn by Holbein, or more probably by Dumoustier or his school; this is chronologically quite possible and it would have been very easy for such portraits to reach the Mughal Emperor as a present from Europe. The Emperor perhaps commanded his artists to produce one in the same style, but, accustomed as they were to draw everything in miniature, they reduced the original. It, however, does not prevent me from being of the opinion that they are the most beautiful miniatures that Indian art has produced.

It is no unusual thing to meet with Indian drawings, copied from European paintings or engravings; at times they are merely copies, and at other times the native of India has changed the heads and costumes but retained the European grouping. It would cause me to digress too far were I to enter upon the subject of these imitations in detail, but for a specialist this offers a wide field for investigation that would be interesting, and possibly many a European picture that is now deemed lost will, by similar copies, be proved to have been transferred to India.

One of the most interesting Indian drawings I have seen represents a sick or wounded man[71] lying on a divan. Such a subject is very rare in European art, and I know of no other in the East executed with such intense feeling. The completed miniature has been in the possession of the

Bodleian Library at Oxford since the 18th century (Plate 200), and the sketch of it (which, in my opinion, is still more beautiful) I had the good fortune to come across in 1910 in a calligraphic collection in the Bazaar at Cairo. It is one of the few Indian sketches that are known. These

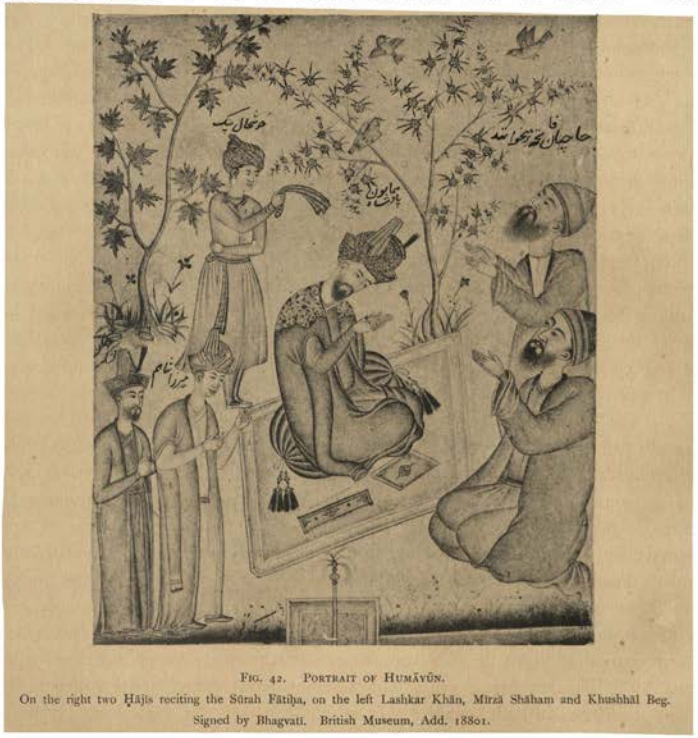


Fig. 42. Portrait of Humāyūn.
On the right two Ḥājīs reciting the Sūrah Fātiḥa, on the left Lashkar Khān, Mīrzā Shāham and Khushḥāl Beg.
Signed by Bhagvatī. British Museum, Add. 18801.

wonderful lines are not drawn in free-hand, but only after careful study and practice. Fig. 41 shows another old man, probably drawn by the same artist whose name I do not know.

One of the finest Indian portraits is Fig. 40. I do not think any European artist could have done it better. In its small way it has all the grandeur of a great painting. The smile of Voltaire was not rendered better by Houdon in his famous marble statue of the great French sceptic.

Portraits of children are very rare in Indian art, but, when they do occur, they are of very exceptional quality. The Hamilton collection at present at the Völkerkunde Museum at Berlin contains some very fine ones. Plate 199 is a charming picture. Not Dampt, not Carries, nor even Holbein could have represented the innocence of the child's face better than this anonymous Indian artist. The surrounding frame, with flowers on a yellow ground, is also an excellent specimen of Indian art at its best.

At the close of the reign of Shāh Jahān, the desire to imitate all that was European, and even earlier Indian paintings, gained the upper hand, though not to the advantage of Indian art. The Emperor had every European painting which he could obtain copied by his court artists. One finds miniatures executed so minutely that they defy all description and all attempts at reproduction. The most wonderful instance of the extent to which microscopic detail can be carried is shewn by an album that was brought to Paris in the year 1909 and was at once absorbed by the collectors there. According to tradition it was taken by Nādir Shāh at Dehli, and remained in Imperial keeping until it was bequeathed to a brother of Shāh Naṣr uddīn, who fled to Russia and settled at Shusha. In his family it was preserved until it was recently sold to an Armenian for 3,000 roubles, about the same price as was paid in Paris for each of the leaves, which numbered in all about one hundred. As regards fineness there is nothing to surpass them, but they are utterly devoid of originality. Not a single miniature is an original, all of them being copies executed in accordance with the Imperial command: "Create something finer than the works of the Europeans and those of my predecessors; surpass them at all costs." The result was a mixture of European comprehension with Oriental fineness and splendour, without really being either the one or the other. There is something unhealthy in it all,—it is like a hot-house plant that has been forced too much and is killed by the first current of fresh air. It reminds me of extremely sweet iced lemonade offered in a Turkish house on a hot summer day. One finds it delicious, but one does not care for another glass of it—the first was too sweet. I must confess that the first time I saw these miniatures, and especially the marvellous borderings with their figures in the most delicate tints, I was enthralled, but the feeling with which they now fill me is akin to that felt when looking at the Raphael Madonna at Dresden painted on porcelain (Plates 211-215).

The same fineness may be seen in two leaves of greater value forming the first two pages of a splendid copy of the "Akbar Nāmah," belonging to Mr. Quaritch. They form one of the most beautiful compositions combined with really great style I have ever beheld, and, considering its restrained

colouring and almost religious composition, I do not hesitate to rank it with the very best work that Europe has produced, if it be not even superior. The opening words of the Akbar Nāmah, "Give me strength, Almighty God, to complete this work," could not have been illustrated more beautifully by the most devout Italian artist of the 15th century (Plates 209, 210).

In one respect the Indian artists were far bolder than the Persian. They tried their skill at equestrian portraits, of which, so far as I am aware,

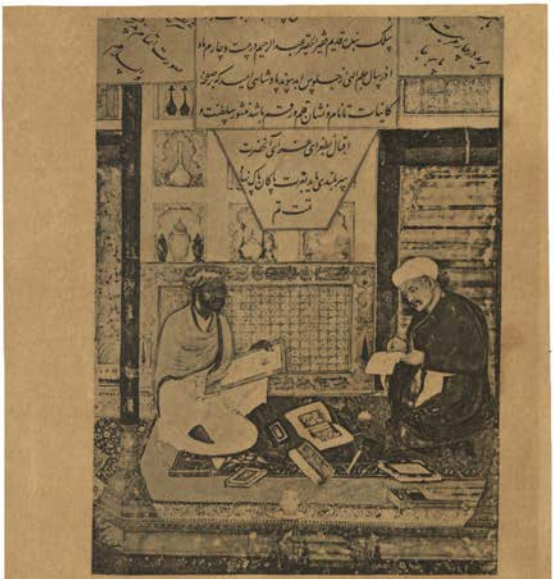
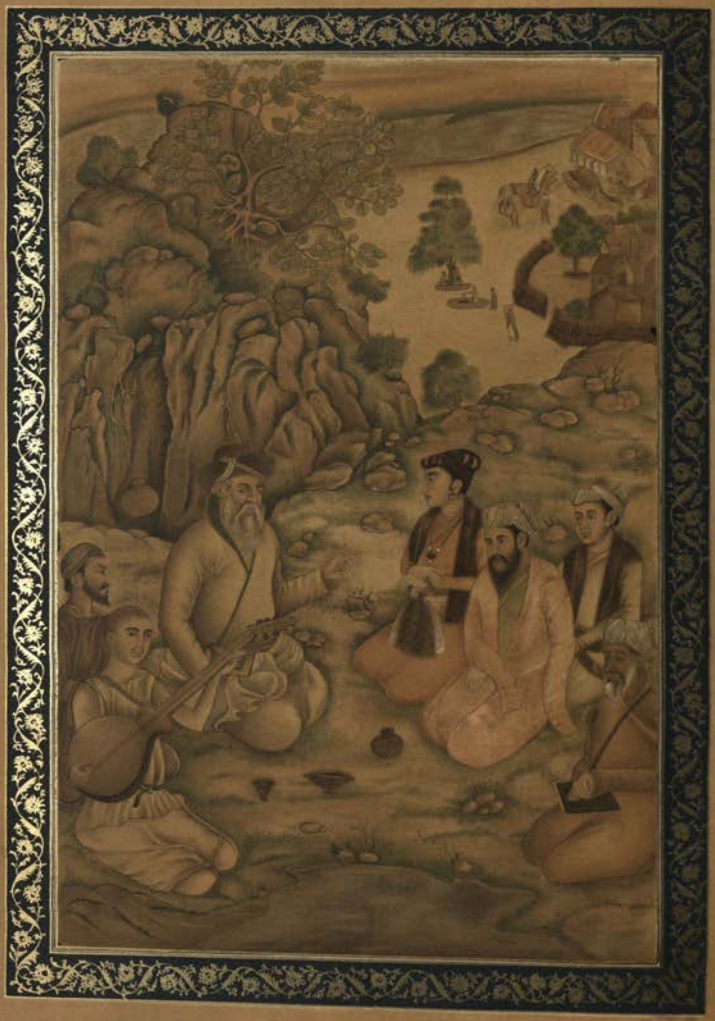


FIG. 43. DAULAT PAINTING THE PORTRAIT OF THE CALLIGRAPHIST 'ABD AL-RAḤIM.
(The last page of the Khamsah of Niẓāmi, belonging to Mr. Dyson Perrins.)

there are but a very few to be found in Persian art, and these are copies after Chinese paintings. The idea certainly came from Europe, and in the example I have reproduced (Plate 204) the artist has achieved considerable success. It is a fine equestrian painting, notwithstanding certain faults in drawing. There can be no doubt that it represents Shāyista Khān, who, from a rising eminence, views his thousands of soldiers, who are represented in the background with microscopic exactness. The ancient Oriental manner of



JAHĀNGĪR WHEN YOUNG VISITING A HOLY MAN

SHĀH JAHĀN SCHOOL

About A.D. 1630

representing the ruler on a far larger scale than his subjects will be recognised in this picture.

The portrait of Shāh Jahān on his state horse (Plate D in colours) gives a good idea of the richness of the Mughal Emperors. No European monarch had a horse so covered with jewels.

A still more magnificent equestrian portrait is in the Imperial library at St. Petersburg ; the painting, with its stormy sky, reminds one of a Greco (Plate 203). Has some unknown picture by Titian, Clouet, or Van Dyck given the artist the idea of this portrait, or is it simply the copy of such a one that has found its way to India, or merely an engraving of one ? It is certainly not of Indian origin.

It must not be forgotten that painting on canvas existed in India. Akbar had an enormous copy of the Ḥamza Nāmah[72], in probably 13 volumes, executed for his library (Plate 206). Of these big paintings (miniatures if we can call them so—as they measure 56 by 72 cm., or 22 ins. by 28¼ ins.) many are scattered about in European collections. The Industrial Museum at Vienna has 60 leaves, many of which bear the seal of Akbar dated A.H. 1001 (A.D. 1592) and of Aurangzīb A.H. 1100 (A.D. 1688). They seem to me to be copied from paintings by Bihzād. The British Museum was recently offered a still bigger canvas, which the Indian artist has filled with figures and scenes taken from different Persian masters. He has poured the brilliant colours and the sun of India over his work so richly that without knowing the originals it would be impossible to think it was a mixture of different schools.

European influence is discoverable in everything during the reign of Shāh Jahān. It was about A.D. 1650 that genre paintings first came into vogue. The Emperor was depicted sitting on a terrace, conversing with his courtiers, or listening to the strains of music, or watching the dancers. The strict ceremony of the Court that had previously prevailed fell into abeyance, and the stately figures represented in Plate 184 became more and more uncommon. At the close of the 17th century and during the whole of the 18th century these and other scenes were copied interminably. The custom of allowing the figures to stand out against an almost black background of luxuriant foliage—probably an imitation of blackened European oil-paintings—formed a striking contrast to the figures that were painted in light tints ; but as time went on they became worse and worse in respect to the drawing and modelling. It was these miniatures that excited most admiration at the Munich Exhibition, both among artists and the public in the New Athens on the shores of the Isar. Indian art critics attribute these miniatures of the Indian school to an indigenous Rajput school. Is there really no European influence behind them ?

This Rajput attribution has been exploited during the last few years and particularly by amateurs who have never seen a miniature of the great Indian periods. Some writers on Indian art declare them to belong to the Rajput school and that they represent the genuine Indian art descended directly from the art of the masters of Ajanta. It is a curious coincidence that these miniatures began to be painted just at the period when European travellers, especially English travellers, went to India. I am convinced that they were executed for sale to foreigners and they are just as much the expression of the real Indian art as the wood sculpture and silver work sold to tourists in Trondhjem are real expressions of Norwegian art. One clearly sees how the painters or rather makers of these miniatures have tried to put all kinds of Indian subjects into the pictures to make them more saleable.

It is especially in these decadent pictures that one recognises the different manner in which landscapes were represented by Persian and Indian artists. In the work of the latter the foliage of the trees is so profuse that no ray of sunlight can penetrate it, and in addition it seems to be quite blackened by the sun. When the trees bear flowers or fruit the leaves are completely hidden by masses of blooms or fruit in a manner entirely out of proportion to what is seen in nature. Everything is intended to display the wealth of India. Never do the Indians as did the Persians, represent a desert, or barren landscape, with but a few trees. One of the few exceptions will be found in Plate 177. Is it not worthy of a modern impressionist? Is there not a certain resemblance between this picture and Böcklin's celebrated "Adventurers on the Sea-shore"? Does not the huge tree cause a sensation of desolation quite as powerful as that called forth by the picture of the great Swiss artist? The original idea is, however, not Indian. In Persia, Sulṭān Muḥammad painted in this manner at the very beginning of the 16th century. In my collection I have a fragment of a Cosmography of Qazvīnī containing miniatures by his hand with similar landscapes. Persian artists at the commencement of the 16th century could satisfactorily paint that which the most modern painters of Europe attempt to represent.

The Arab artists were the best animal painters, but after the Timurid period few animals were drawn. In India, however, the Elephant played too great a rôle to escape being portrayed in miniatures. We have also many drawings of these animals, some of them of extraordinary power and life (Plate 218).

The Emperor Jahāngīr was a great lover of birds, and he had a painter Manṣūr who portrayed his favourites in a way often worthy of Dürer. They both had the same love for minute work,—maybe Manṣūr[73] was also a goldsmith?

Plates 221 and 222 represent birds taken from an immense work on natural history which was intended to be executed by Jahāngīr. This probably was never finished and only about 80 plates, of a large size, now exist. The feet of the birds were never finished because it was intended that another artist should paint the landscapes, in the style of Plates 219 and 220. The present landscapes were added at the end of the 18th century before the pictures came to England. The minuteness and life in the drawing of the feathers is surpassed by no animal painter on this earth.

In flower painting one meets the same minuteness in details as is found in the flowers in the Grimani Breviary, or the borders painted by the famous Hoefnagel, about A.D. 1570, in the Prayer Book of Albrecht V. of Bavaria in the Munich Library. I am convinced that such manuscripts were illuminated, taken by the missionaries to India and Persia, and were copied there. The album which the Emperor of Russia two years ago bought from the library of the Shah shews that even the Gothic ornamental borders were copied. Plate 224 shews how the artists repeated their work, the two branches of narcissi being exactly alike. The flowers on Plate 223 are Persian work of A.D. 1734 in the same style as that used in the decoration of the golden girdles, those masterpieces of textile art.

The Indian artists generally repeated their works much more than the Persian did. The wealthy Amirs who formed the Mughal court were all anxious to have the portrait of their sovereign, and those of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān are without number. What a pity that this custom did not exist at the court of the Abbasids or the Timurids. How richer would not our knowledge have been.

I think that miniature painting and all the other branches of art and craft created by the Mughal Emperors will never revive, as the conditions are not sufficiently favourable. The preciousness of the materials and the richness of the details which so characterised Indian art, and in which respects it was unsurpassed, are no longer in demand. Let us hope that the new Indian art will follow new paths.

CHAPTER X

Miniature Painting in Turkey

THERE is no doubt that the influence of the East upon Italian art during the whole of the 15th century and the commencement of the 16th has been underestimated. It was not Venice alone that was in touch with the East, for both Southern and Central Italy carried on a lively commerce that had been established in the Middle Ages. In the 15th century, Florence despatched her own vessels to Alexandria, having even then her own depots at Tunis, at Rhodes, and at Cyprus, and being in touch not only with the Crimea and Armenia, but also with far distant China.

It is beyond the scope of this work to enter into the complicated questions of the Oriental journey undertaken by Leonardo da Vinci. That matter will doubtless be cleared up ere long; but I cannot refrain from pointing out that the celebrated knots which form the title of his "Academia" are not only inspired by Oriental motives but are simply a re-making of them. The whole method of decoration—placing a large shield in the centre and small ornaments in the corners—which was adopted by Leonardo, is not European but purely Oriental, and can be seen on Arabian bindings executed so far back as the 11th century. Similar ornaments are found on a Koran made for Sultan Faraj, A.H. 809-815 (A.D. 1406–1412) in the Khedivial Library. This style of decoration was adopted by the Timurids, among whom we find it in the middle of the 15th century and from Herat it migrated to Turkey where it became a very popular motive at the end of the same century. This is shewn by various bindings executed for Sultan Bāyazīd A.H. 886-918 (A.D. 1481–1512), who eagerly collected manuscripts from the Timurid libraries. The ornamentation of these are based on the same principle as the knots, and in one of them Leonardo plainly shews his adherence to the technique used in the East, on bookbindings the ornaments of which were made with small stamps. All the many admirers of Leonardo will probably protest against my theory.

I can only state that no such motives existed in Europe (unless on bindings in Venice copied from the East), but that in the East they were the most popular motives in use during the whole of the 15th century, disappearing entirely during the 16th century. In my opinion it shews the intelligence of Leonardo, and that he occupied himself with things that lay far beyond the interests of other men. Nor must one forget that the most ancient wood-cut portrait known to have been printed in Europe represented Sulṭān Muḥammad, the conqueror of Constantinople, and that the oldest etched Florentine portrait is generally supposed to represent him, although in reality it is a portrait of his great adversary Scanderbeg. This surely shews that Europe was much more interested in the East at that time than is generally admitted.

The friend of Leonardo da Vinci, Benedetto, who from A.D. 1480 was the manager of the Portiani Bank at Milan, had travelled in the East, and according to his account there were in Florence in A.D. 1478, 270 mercers who worked especially for the East, while 83 traders in silk imported raw goods from the East on their own vessels, and no less than 32 fondachi were employed in cutting out and making robes of the finest English scarlet, salmon-coloured and violet cloth, which were sold to the East. It would indeed be marvellous, and wholly unlike human nature, had young artists not taken the opportunity of going in these ships to the East, there, for a short time at least, to view the wonderful play of colours of which they had heard so much; and this was all the easier since the Italians had depots not only in the larger ports but also in the interior of Asia Minor. From the time of Byzantium all through the Middle Ages the silk-producing vale of Bilejik had constant communication with Italy, and I have often heard, in Asia Minor, both Turks and Greeks speak of old monuments that the Genoese erected. I hardly think that these voyages to the East were considered of sufficient importance for the young artists to note them in their biographies. It was a very different matter with those who wrote and printed books about the East; they, like the travellers of the present day passing through little known countries, had to make their works piquant by the narration of all kinds of adventures, in order to ensure the sale of their books. It is not worth while even for a modern traveller to record that it is possible to live and travel there with a little less comfort than in Europe. The communications between Italy and the East were far too well established in that time for a twenty year old artist to boast much of his having visited the East.

The summons of Gentile Bellini to Constantinople in A.D. 1480 is too well known to call for any but a passing mention here, and the few

works still existing, which he executed during his sojourn there, need no detailed enumeration, as they are all well known. Let me simply avail myself of the opportunity of reiterating my supposition that the miniature I found in the Bellini album represents a Turkish prince, and that it was sent to Persia, probably as a gift to the Shah, and that Bihzād seeing it there copied it, for the copy now in the possession of M. Doucet is, in outline, exactly similar to the original. Bihzād, however, was unable to copy the European pattern of the prince's costume and therefore replaced it by a Persian pattern easier for the artist to draw. It is a peculiarity with Oriental artists that they were never able to draw a pleated pattern correctly, a fact to which I draw special attention since it is a good criterion by which to judge whether a work is European or Oriental, especially as it has been maintained that the beautiful quattrocento drawing of the coat was made by a Turkish artist a century later[74]. I should, however, like to know the Turk who was capable of drawing so complicated a European pattern correctly, even without the folds.

Gentile Bellini may well be called the father of Turkish miniature painting. All the miniatures of the commencement of the 16th century that still exist are entirely in Bellini's style. The very manner in which figure is placed beside figure is precisely the same as is found in Bellini's large paintings. The large canvases that Bellini painted in the Seraglio[75], and which escaped destruction when the fanaticism of Bāyazīd, the successor of Sulṭān Muḥammad, caused others to be destroyed, doubtless served as models for the few Turkish painters who plied the brush during the reign of Sultan Salim and the first period of the rule of Sulaimān the Magnificent.

On the other hand I feel perfectly convinced that Bellini's influence did not extend to Persia, where art had reached a high degree of development so early as A.D. 1500, and where the Turks were despised as barbarians to such a degree that no Persian artist would be likely to journey to Constantinople. It was only at the close of the reign of Sulaimān the Magnificent (A.D. 1520-1566), when Shāh Ṭahmāsp's interest in art began to wane, that Persian artists went to Turkey or entered the services of the Sultan, who was known to expend large sums on manuscripts. I am entirely opposed to the theory that has been brought forward endeavouring to shew that Bellini's influence predominated in Persia and which cites the splendid drawing of a camel in the possession of Mr. Charles Ricketts as a proof thereof. The drawing is, moreover, hardly compatible with the repose that Bellini invariably gave his animals, while the large picture in the Brera Gallery at Milan shews definitely how he did draw a camel. To anyone who has carefully studied the drawing of this camel, the question is solved.

The composition of Turkish miniatures became entirely subject to the influence of Bellini, but his colours were replaced by the favourite colours of the Turks. Red and an abundance of gold prevails in the miniatures, but green and blue were used more sparingly, as is also the case in the splendid gold brocades which they began to weave almost at the same period.

In the Persian miniatures, on the other hand, lapis lazuli and turquoise, with several other colours, such as salmon and dark red, play an important rôle, and thanks to this decided colour effect no hesitation need ever be felt as to whether a miniature be Turkish or Persian, even after the period when Persian influence began to make itself noticeable. Of all the nations of Western Asia, the Turks have shown most tenacity in retaining their ideal of colour, which I myself admire, although it is devoid of the variety found in the Persian scale of colour.

In the beginning of the 16th century drawings were made in Turkey, probably in imitation of the European engravings that had reached Constantinople. The Turks mention with pride an artist, Ḥaidar Bey, who is said to have painted the portrait of Salim the Great. I have two signed specimens of this master's work, obtained from the Imperial library in Constantinople. Ḥaidar Bey has preserved for us the knowledge of two European portraits that no longer exist, *viz.*, Francis I. by Clouet and one of Charles V., both copied by him (Plate 227). He has most conscientiously inscribed under them that they represent the ambassadors of the French and Spanish kings, who came to arrange a treaty with the Grand Seignior. But even without this inscription there could be felt no doubt as to the original subjects. Assuredly these are copies of the originals that were brought by the ambassadors as presents for Sulaimān the Great. That the copyist possessed no great skill is proved by other products that may certainly be ascribed to his brush. The equestrian portrait of Salim II. (Plate 228) shews how the Turkish artists were influenced by European models and Plate 232 shews that European engravings were copied. There is no Asiatic race so utterly devoid of artistic imagination as the Turkish, and none so eager to be considered at the height of everything new as they.

Not infrequently, miniatures are met with representing a rider on a bony steed (Plates 230, 231). For some time I wondered what they meant, and the explanation I am about to advance may appear very strange, but I believe it to be the correct solution. These drawings are in my opinion a reminiscence of the European representations of Death, and there is a marvellous similitude between Dürer's drawing of King Death in the British Museum and the horseman in Sir Charles H. Read's collection (Plate 231). The scythe is wanting, but the

man's position and the horse are too alike for there to be any doubt that some connection exists between the two. What is most peculiar is that in the Read example the drawing is on a white ground, and the whole surface of the paper surrounding the design has been marbled. This effect has been obtained by covering the design entirely before marbling the remainder of the paper. In the Goloubeff collection is a copy of the same drawing of a horse (though without the rider) which has been subjected to the reverse method of marbling—the drawing itself has been marbled while the remaining surface of the paper has been left blank. Since we know that paper was sent from Europe to Constantinople to be ornamented with marbled figures and designs, the technique of which was then unknown in Europe, it is natural to suppose that the Turks utilised as models for their drawings such European engravings as by chance fell into their hands, and that such drawings later on managed to gain a certain popularity. A similar Turkish drawing is on Plate 230, the small ornament on the saddle shewing it to be Turkish and not Persian work, as might perhaps otherwise be supposed.

Historical works treating of the conquests and victories of the Osmans and the Kalîlah wa Dimnah were the books which mostly attracted the Turkish miniaturists. Plenty of gold (chiefly of a greenish hue) was lavished on the miniatures. The painters never reached the same height as the book-binders, who, during two centuries, created masterpieces of taste and refined workmanship.

During the time of Sultan Aḥmad the court artists were chiefly occupied in producing Korans. Fewer and fewer manuscripts were adorned with miniatures. The 18th century was entirely under the influence of the rococo style. Sometimes the mingling of French elegance with Turkish richness in colours produces things not without charm.

During the reign of Salim III., at the end of the 18th century, various series of portraits of the Sultans were executed in oil-painting and also in miniature. Their only artistic merit was richness in details.

CHAPTER XI

The Illumination of Manuscripts

THE Koran was the only book to which the Arabs, in early times, gave an artistic form. The most ancient specimens, attributed to the Caliphs 'Alī and 'Uthmān, are, as regards the writing, of so superb a character that they really needed no ornaments. They form with Gutenberg's Bible and Morris's Kelmscott Chaucer the most glorious books in the world. Their first few pages must certainly have been ornamented in colours, since the few ornaments that are found here and there in the text are in colour, not in gold, and both by their drawing and colouring remind one of the very fine tapestry which was at that time woven by the Copts in Egypt both for their own use and for their Fatimid rulers. But these huge Korans were soon superseded by smaller ones, in which the size of the writing was reduced but still retained its superb character. In the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, there are several hundred Kufic Korans, mostly incomplete, which the genius of Napoleon caused him to have collected during his expedition to Egypt, thus depriving the country and the East of the majority and certainly the best of these manuscripts. In the various European libraries there are numerous Kufic Korans or fragments of them, but with very few exceptions, among others the Imperial Library at Vienna, they all lack the first few pages, which were invariably rich in ornament; to those who study the history of art they are of vital interest, as they are some of the few examples of decorative art now remaining of the earliest days of Muhammadanism which can be dated accurately.

The largest collection of decorated first pages now existing is probably that which I have managed to acquire with great difficulty during my journeyings in the East. These leaves (Plates 233-237) are very rare, not only because the Oriental has a habit of moistening his fingers when turning over the leaves of a book like our children, in consequence of which the first leaves of a book become dirty and worn, but also because Oriental

amateurs have been pleased to cut out these leaves in order to frame them and therewith adorn their walls, the only form of loose decoration they use for that purpose. Among a thousand Korans it is probable that not more than five have their first leaves in their original condition. In those two Korans that are deemed specially sacred in the Aya Sofia Mosque at Constantinople, copies made during the Middle Ages have replaced the original first leaves.

It will be seen at once that these leaves are copied from antique patterns. Plate 234 shews the same arrangement as the roundel ornamenting the title page of the celebrated Dioscorides manuscript, written about the 6th century, in the Imperial Library at Vienna. There can be no doubt that these designs were copied either from marble plaques of the late Roman or Byzantine periods, or from mosaics of exactly the same kind as are still to be seen at the east end of St. Mark's at Venice. The gold mosaic in the marble produces the same effect as is seen in the manuscripts. Antique motives alone are to be found in these leaves, for there are none that can be called Arabic. Plaited cords surround the frames of the groundwork which in their turn are formed by ribbon-work. The central ground is often formed of very complicated ribbon-work, which is, however, always clearly traced, thanks to the gold applied in varying thicknesses. All these motives the Arabs inherited from the Antique, and they developed them later on, particularly in the bindings of their books, for which purpose they were better adapted than for other departments of art. The chief lines of the pattern were first drawn in the parchment by styles, which still shews the impression on the reverse. In many instances groundworks occur which plainly shew that they were founded on mosaics. They are minutely divided into very small squares, generally every alternate one being in gold and the others being blank or in colour; the latter style is, however, very rare. Only in one single known manuscript does colour predominate (Plates 235, 236), and in this instance it is a very important contribution to our knowledge of the use of colour by the Arabs during the more ancient period of the Caliphs. The most striking colour is a dead blue, which is, however, so vivid that the artist has often considered it necessary to tone it down with white spots of small size. The red is generally the famous kirmis from Armenia which replaced the purple of the ancient world, totally different to the sealing-wax red that is used for the diacritical marks in these manuscripts, which may, perhaps, have given rise to the legend that these Korans bear traces of the blood of the Caliphs. In order to tone down the effect of the purple-red the small white spots have also been utilised in connection with this colour. Red is more used than blue for making the fine lines in the palmettes and borderings:

in this manuscript green, the colour sacred to the Prophet, occurs but seldom and to a very slight degree : while black is used for the outlines, and these are, as a rule, rather fine. With these four colours and different tones of gold, the result is a profusion of patterns and of glorious harmonies. In those manuscripts that are chiefly decorated with gold the excellent quality of this metal excites admiration. It was applied in a fluid state, and subsequently burnished, and to this day, although eleven or twelve hundred years have elapsed, it is as fresh as when first applied. A design in a brown tinge of two shades that has perhaps originally been redder is often seen on the gold, two shades being distinguishable, and occasionally a pinkish colour is discernible. The blank surfaces are generally decorated with fine pen-drawings in light brown, this being so delicately touched in that it is scarcely perceptible except in certain lights.

These decorated leaves were not yet executed with the astonishing sureness and fineness that is met with during the later periods. The Arabs for some length of time certainly employed Greeks, Armenians, and Copts in this kind of work, notwithstanding that Arabian authors give no authority for this presumption. Although the names of several calligraphers are known, the name of no illuminator has been handed down, nor is it known where these Korans were produced. It was probably in Kufa or Baghdad, the former place having given its name to the writings, which to this day are unsurpassed in splendour.

The importance of illuminated manuscripts in assisting to arrive at decisions in regard to other Oriental objects of art is immense, and an instance may well be mentioned. Some years ago, M. J. Doucet, of Paris, acquired two pieces of faience[76] with a peculiar decoration consisting of ornaments inlaid in mosaic. There was a design of distorted, illegible cuneiform characters, and many simple motives. As is usual when anything new is discovered those learned men who had acquired their wisdom only in their own or in one or two other museums, hastened to declare the pieces to be not genuine. Such ornaments in that particular style did not exist! On the production of one of the before-mentioned manuscripts, with which the two specimens of ceramic art showed a palpable similitude both in colour and style, all objections to the genuineness of the articles vanished. By means of these manuscripts I have been able to date some very early embroideries[77] which have been found in the North of Sweden, and which are almost the only embroideries of the Viking Age now in existence except those newly found in Norway.

After the Korans written on vellum went out of use and were replaced by those written on paper, the artists do not seem to have understood the

art of decorating paper, and in consequence for a long time no finely ornamented pages are to be found. It is possible on the other hand that they existed and have all been destroyed. In any case no traces of any such manuscripts earlier than the 12th century are now discoverable, and the style in the meantime has undergone a change. The gold still predominates together with a little bright blue colour, and the medallion begins to give place to the trellis pattern which was in vogue in Egypt subsequent to the Fatimid period. May not the trellis pattern be derived from the mashrabiyyah work which was placed outside the windows, and is not that rich gold trellis work a representation of the sun shining through such a window? On the gold there is usually a design executed in brown or black in fine lines.

Most of the superb Korans executed during the late period of the Caliphate have been destroyed, while those that remain are, as a rule, in a very bad state of preservation. The lattice-work style prevailed for a long period during the Mamluk rule in Egypt but other designs were occasionally employed; those two charming leaves depicted on Plate 237 are of about the middle of the 13th century.

Some of the most extraordinary pages in this style I have ever seen are of the Mongolian period in Persia. The two pages from the Paris copy of the Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh (Plate 238) are unsurpassed as a harmony of blue and gold combined with a very little red to give more life and to make the blue stand out more strongly. Never have I seen a geometrical pattern of such actual vivacity—it is like sunshine on the rippling seas.

Richer in design, though not so fine in colour, are those wonderful first pages of a Koran in thirty-two parts, made for the Mongol Khan of Persia, Uljaitū, A.H. 703-716 A.D. (1304-1316), which was in A.D. 1326 purchased by the Mamluk Muḥammad Sulṭān al-Nāṣir. This is one of the finest works in the Khedivial Library at Cairo (so immensely rich in Korans of the Mamluk period)—of unsurpassed beauty, and I greatly regret that the severe regulations now in force have prevented me from obtaining the photographs I wanted to reproduce, especially as it is one of the most precious documents of a period of which we know so very little (Fig. 44). With the exception of these I know of very few really fine pages executed in Persia during the 14th century.

We have already seen what very fine books were made for the Timurids. The number of manuscripts in which only the first pages are ornamented is far larger than those of the manuscripts adorned with miniatures, and as a rule they are very richly decorated. In the Timurid

books on almost every page the beautiful writing is adorned with small ornaments in gold and just a little discreet colouring, which gives an effect of profuseness not found in other manuscripts. The first pages are

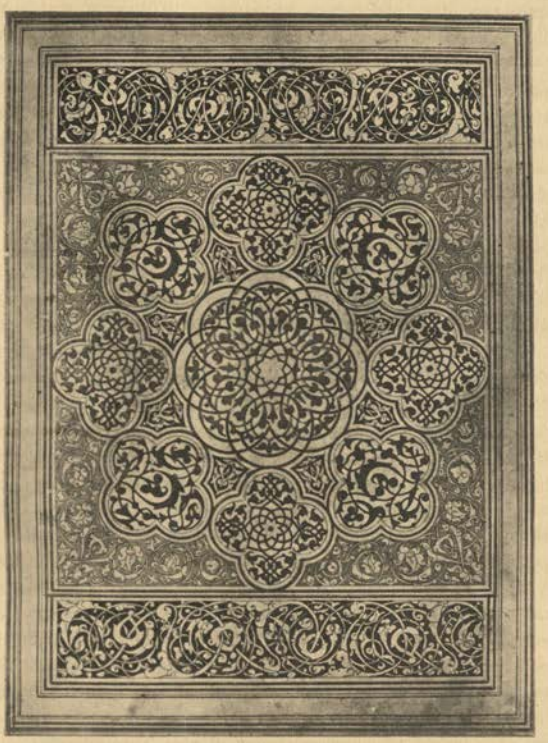


FIG. 44. Page from the Koran manuscript made for Uljaitū, the Mongol Khan of Persia (A.D. 1304–1316). K.L.C.

almost as vivid in character as the Mongolian, and of much minuter workmanship. The colours are strong: blue, gold, and a little dark-red, with the Mongolian court colour, black, are the sole colours employed. The artists managed to harmonise these in a perfect manner, the

designs being very rich and united. The pages depicted on Plate 234 are real masterpieces of decoration. The gold used at this time is more polished than at other periods, and from this cause the pages give one the impression of jewellery. Figures were very seldom used, and I only know of one superb border and two pages in which they occur (Plates 241 and 243); they plainly shew Italian influence, and can well bear comparison with any Italian borders. Once again it is the Timurid period that proves to be the great epoch of the bookmaking art. None of the splendid Korans of the Khedivial Library of Cairo surpass the products of the Herat school except in size, and in that respect they are unsurpassed in the East; but as regards the beauty of the work they are far behind the productions of the Persians.

The ornaments in the manuscripts of the time of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā vie in elegance with the miniatures, and this implies a great deal. The earlier severity has become superseded by an elegance that is beyond comparison and is shewn in the colouring, the rounding of the lines, and the variety of the arabesques which are never repeated. It is necessary to study the manuscripts in order to appreciate all these features, since it is vain to attempt to reproduce or describe them. During his reign arose that style with compartments (Plate 244) which is found in the borders of carpets, on the bindings of books, and on almost everything of the time of this Sultan, and which is one of the most characteristic motives of his period. Many names of artists who thus decorated manuscripts are known, but there are at present no means of distinguishing their work as only one has appended his signature to a page. He was Muḥammad Qāsim, a master whose work defies all description, and is so minute that few eyes can fully appreciate it without the aid of a magnifying glass. He must have had the sharpest eyesight ever possessed by mortal man, since his lines are finer than the very finest hairs, while his brush appears to surmount all difficulties (Plate 246). It was only for the most valuable manuscripts that his talent was engaged, his first pages being masterpieces that no period or people have ever equalled. I think he was the master who executed most of the decorative work in the miniatures of Bihzād and Mīrak.

It was during the earlier period of the Timurids that the margins began to be ornamented with those fine drawings in gold and modest colouring, which in my opinion is the most refined method of adorning a book, and especially when accomplished with so much taste and skill as shewn by the Persians (Plates 239, 240). This method of ornament, curiously enough, was employed but little during the reign of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā, who preferred variegated paper simply decorated with a

sprinkling of gold. During the time of Shāh Ṭahmāsp the earlier fashion again prevailed, and landscapes with animals and human beings were often depicted in gold of different tints, a style of decoration that was known to the Chinese in the Ming period, and of which there remain several charming leaves.

The most magnificent borders of that kind that I know of are in a manuscript of Nizāmī in the British Museum, dated A.H. 946-949 (A.D. 1539-1542) (Plates 252–254). By varying thicknesses of the gold, a nuance of special profuseness has been attained. Less magnificent, but more elegant, are the borders of a Mīr 'Alī manuscript, found by Dr. Schulz in Persia, in which silver has also been introduced; the drawing is just as accurate as in the former, and the variegated paper forms a colour harmony of marvellous beauty (Plates 250, 251). About this period a special paper came into vogue, the ground of which was coloured with the most charming and delicate tints, on which a design was made in delicate gold. Leaves like these must have been very difficult to produce, since they are seldom seen, and the Persians set very great value on them. Such borders are, in my opinion, to be ranked as the finest that Persia has ever produced, and I have no hesitation in preferring them to the celebrated drawings by Dürer for the Prayer Book of the Emperor Maximilian[78], or the finest borders drawn by Italian artists in manuscripts. The animals are far better drawn, and the whole treatment has far more decorative effect than in the Dürer borders. Towards the close of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's reign, entire pages were decorated with drawings in gold (Plates 255–258). Everything that Shāh Ṭahmāsp had had executed with the most critical taste, Shāh 'Abbās wished to surpass and transcend, just in the same way as Ludwig of Bavaria wished to outvie Louis XIV. of France. In the magnificent album that some years ago reached Paris, mentioned on page 59, and which furnished many collectors with their best miniatures, there were six pages that are decorated in the Shāh 'Abbās style of rich colouring (Plates 261, 262). One can recognise the slim figures, in affected attitudes characteristic of his period, but the decoration is too profuse, and far too brilliant, in comparison with the tasteful older borders. The arabesques are poor and uneven, the execution inferior, and the colours inharmonious and gaudy, while the air of ostentatious display renders the decay of art plainly visible. Towards the middle of the 17th century the gold borderings disappeared; it was too expensive for the wholesale manufacture of Shāh Nāmahs, and thus one of the finest branches of art in the East became irrevocably defunct.

The custom of adorning the first pages of a volume reached Turkey from Persia and Egypt and there it was developed far more than in its

birthplace, but only in respect of one book, the Koran. The fanatic Sultan Bāyazīd (A.D. 1481-1512), ordered a Koran to be written which is preserved in the Aya Sofia Mosque. Many years ago it was subjected to an attack at the hands of a lover of art! and I am thus enabled to reproduce some of the most beautiful pages that have ever been made in the East (Plates 264–267). In regard to the profuseness of the arabesques, probably nothing more rich has ever been produced, and yet the most scrupulous taste prevails, while the thick gold of various tints makes the pages appear as if they were golden plate. The ornaments are of the same style as those on the superb blue and white faience bowls which were made at Izniq (the old .Nicæa) and of which there is a splendid specimen in the British Museum. Sulaimān the Magnificent had many splendid Korans executed. His son, Salim II. (A.D. 1566-1574), the drunkard, had still more and still greater ones executed, which in size could compete with the Mamluk Korans[79]. Plate 268 shews how during that time older Persian manuscripts were made richer by adding ornaments and borders, and in this kind of work the Oriental imagination was never exhausted, and continually found new combinations of colour and design. There are hundreds and hundreds of arabesques, one never like the other.

Plate 271 shews how the Turks of the 17th century reproduced the Chinese and Persian designs of dragons while adding a quantity of superfluous leaves and flowers of the most delicate drawing. The Turks had the same aim as the Indians to surpass their models in everything, but they did not succeed in doing so, and, I think, they never cared for doing so intrinsically, only superficially. The Persians were the Greeks of the nearer East at least in all art matters. They had that extraordinary feeling for discreet elegance which was possessed only by the Greeks, the Florentines, and the French of the 18th century. In the manuscripts of this period one sees that a too profuse display of colour and a far less minute execution has begun to prevail. Blue, gold and red in various shades form a combination, somewhat too gaudy for so serious a book as the Koran. By far the greatest number of magnificent Korans were produced, however, during the time of Sultan Aḥmad (A.D. 1603-1617). In his turbah there are a score of Korans, and here, there and everywhere in the mosques of Stambul are products, more splendid than tasteful, of the decorative art of the period. The evolution in Turkey was similar to that in Persia, but so soon as the Louis XIV. style came into fashion this art, as well as all other art, disappeared in the East.

Chapter XII

Technique, Colours and Paper

THE "Manāqib"[80] states that "the painter has to possess a delicate hand, a sharp-seeing eye, a pure mind, and superior intelligence, in order to produce with his marvellous pencil reproductions which could not be distinguished from the originals. So as to acquire great dexterity of hand he is obliged repeatedly to copy models." There then follows a description of the manner in which the copies of the master's work were to be made.

"It was usual to collect together a large number of the various animals, plants, and edifices drawn by the master, and to fix them with paste to that thin skin of the gazelle which is found in large quantities in the shops of the beaters of gold and silver, the sketches being so adjusted that the image was visible through the membrane. A thin needle was then employed to make minute holes in all the lines of the drawing, these holes being pierced very evenly. A branch of the tamarind was then burnt to produce charcoal (for finer work the charcoal was obtained from the arahar palm, Cajanus Indicus), and after it was well pounded in a mortar and sifted, a small quantity of this charcoal was tied in a piece of fabric that was thin and slightly supple. A thin piece of ordinary paper was then stretched on a very even surface, the pierced drawing placed on top, and the bag filled with powdered charcoal was passed over the different parts of the figure the reproduction of which was desired. The powdered charcoal passed through the almost imperceptible holes formed by the prickings of the needle and marked on the white paper an outline of the image to be reproduced. The paper on which the figure was traced was then removed with the greatest care and the outlines passed over with a pencil. All the details of the original were then carefully observed and noted. This taking of tracings was practised for several years until the eye and the hand of the learner became quite accustomed to the work. By this constant practise the details and

minutiæ of the various figures became graven on his brain, and when his studies had reached this stage, the artist was deemed capable of tracing with exactitude all the forms he desired."

The above was the procedure for the pupils. The masters in the art made the first sketch with a brush dipped in water only, which left on the paper when dry a water line impression which served as a guide. Afterwards the outlines were drawn with Indian red or Persian ink. Later the various colours were laid on, each colour separately, an evidence of the sureness of the artist's eye. Miniatures are often found in which only the outlines have been drawn, and the figure is in so-called "siyāh qalam" (ink pen or block pen). Some of these have a very charming effect.

In Persia most of the miniatures are unsigned, and, as a rule, too much stress must not be laid on the signatures that are met with, as, with the exception of those of the Riẓā School, they are only genuine in a few cases. The names of the great masters, particularly Bihzād, have often been forged, but on the other hand no attempt is made to imitate the signature, the name being simply added in ordinary writing. Professor T. W. Arnold, who has been of great assistance to me in writing this work, has told me that he has seen an Indian miniature with a forged signature purporting to be that of Bihzād. The signatures of Indian artists, on the contrary, are nearly always genuine, and are very often met with.

It was not until A.D. 751, after the battle at Kangli in Western Turkestan, that the Arabs learned the making of paper from the Chinese workman who was found in the camp. The first state paper manufactory was at Samarqand, the second was founded A.D. 794 at Baghdad during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd, and papyrus and parchment were very quickly substituted by the new and cheaper material. Cheapness is the mother of most of our actual crafts,—enamel is only a cheaper reproduction of stones inlaid in gold, lustre on pottery only imitation of gilding, etc., etc., etc. For the Koran, however, parchment was used for at least two centuries later. In the 10th and 11th centuries the manufacture of paper was spread over the whole Muhammadan world and especially Egypt, and began to compete with the two older materials. A great deal of the Egyptian paper was made from the wrapping of mummies. A Baghdad physician, 'Abd al-Laṭīf[81], who went to Egypt about A.D. 1200, states that the bedouins and fellahs searched old Egyptian tombs for the linen wrappings which they sold to the paper manufactories. What a golden age for archæologists and collectors! Paper was made in different sizes from sheets 73 by 109 cms. to the smallest 6 by 9 cms. which was called bird-paper, as it was made for the pigeon post which at that time

had an enormous development. In Egypt very little good paper is still made or at least I have not been able to find it. But in Baghdad and especially in Samarqand there were at least some years ago craftsmen still living who were able to make very good but very expensive paper. Every museum of Oriental art ought to have a collection of small pieces of Oriental paper of different periods and countries. It would prove most useful in these days of forgery.

'Alī Efendi[82], the author of the "Manāqib-i Hunarvarān," who wrote at the end of the 16th century, praises the quality of the paper derived from Turkestan. "The ḥabashī (Abyssinian) and dimashqī (Damascan) papers are worthless; no paper should be employed that is inferior in quality to that from Samarqand." The same author enumerates the various kinds of paper which were used during his time. "The most ordinary kind of paper is produced at the mills at Damascus the value of which is slight and well known"; then are enumerated the following qualities :—

1. *Daulatābādī* (bearing this name because made at Daulatābād, formerly called Deogir, a town in India, in the north-west of the territories of the Nizam).
2. *Kẖaṭā'ī* (from Khatay, the Cathay of Marco Polo, Tartary, or North China).
3. *'Ādilshāhī* (from 'Ādilshāh).
4. *Ḥarīrī* (silk paper from Samarqand).
5. *Sulṭānī* (from Samarqand).
6. *Hindī* (Indian).
7. *Nizāmshāhī* (from Nizāmshāh).
8. *Qāsimbegī* (from Qāsim Beg).
9. *Ḥarīrī* (silk paper from India, which cracked in course of time).
10. *Gaunī* (coloured, from Tabriz; the colour of moist sugar, i.e., slightly yellowish. The making of this paper was a speciality of the town).
11. *Mukẖayyar* (watered; of the same colour as the preceding paper).

In India the paper used was of three kinds :—

1. *Bansaha*, made from crushed bamboo.
2. *Tatha*, made from tat or jute.
3. *Tulat*, made from tula or cotton.

The microscopical researches made by Briquet and by Wiesner have proved that no paper used in the East was ever made of unbleached cotton. All the specimens examined were made either of rag, linen or silk refuse.

Besides white, which is the ordinary colour, paper of a purple (light violet or amethyst) colour is met with.

Blue is the colour of mourning[83]. In Egypt and Syria the orders for the execution of criminals were written on blue paper.

Red is considered to be the colour of happiness and festivity, light red and, above all, rose tinted paper being much esteemed. The use of red paper in official correspondence was a prerogative of exalted rank and a sign of enjoying special favour. In Syria the Viceroy of Damascus and the Governor of the fortress of Karak were the only persons who had the right to correspond with their suzerain at Cairo on red paper. It is also deemed the colour of humanity, and it was used when presenting a claim for justice.

Yellow paper was also highly esteemed. The historian of the Muslim conquest, al-Balādhurī, previous to A.D. 892, mentions paper coloured with saffron.

In Europe we have no idea of the luxury indulged in by the Orientals in regard to the paper of their books, especially that used for the margins, which from the beginning of the 16th century was often of a different kind, and more precious and sprinkled with gold, to that on which text was written. In many manuscripts, the offspring of this luxury, the margins were so thickly decorated with gold that they looked as if it had been hammered into the paper. There is a manuscript in the old Seraglio at Constantinople which is considered to contain two kilogrammes of gold, and it is, in fact, a very heavy book.

From an artistic point of view, however, this gold sprinkled paper cannot be compared with another kind of paper on which the drawing was executed in the same colour as the paper itself. Throughout the 16th century, both in Persia and Turkey, a paper was in use on which the most charming drawings were executed in various delicate colours. So far as I can discover these colours must have been applied while the paper was wet, since the paper is completely saturated with them, and the somewhat uncertain outlines intimate that the colour was put on when wet. I cannot with certainty state when this fashion was started, but it is said to be a speciality of Tabriz. The oldest manuscript in which it occurs dates from the beginning of the 15th century, the figures and ornaments being traced and surrounded with delicate lines of gold. In all probability the cheaper method of printing these ornaments with stencils while the paper was wet was invented later. In Persia this method is employed chiefly for borders. We meet with the same designs as on the carpets—hunters, and winged genii, animals fighting, palm-leaves, plants, and also arabesques of the most enchanting kind. The colouring of these designs cannot be adequately described, but must be seen to be fully

appreciated, especially as the outlines are enhanced by gold lines drawn by a hand that even the greatest European decorator would have envied.

This coloured paper was very expensive and but few could make it, so it is seldom met with in manuscripts and these few the Orientals are very unwilling to part with. In 1911 a Turkish Prince entrusted a small manuscript to me that had charming borders of a very lovely and delicate tone. I shewed it to the greatest connoisseurs in Paris, and they all agreed that it was a masterpiece of taste, but as not one of them would give more than half the sum demanded by the owner, I was obliged to buy it myself.

This kind of paper was introduced into Turkey in the middle of the 16th century, and since the Turks have always felt great veneration for paper (an educated Turk will not even allow a blank piece or leaf of paper to lie on the floor) it was made the object of further development. It was used in Turkey not only for borders but for the entire page, which was entirely decorated in a similar style, the flowers being often executed in several colours. But even these are very rare. The Düsseldorf Museum has a charming little book written on similar paper, and in Dr. Figdor's collection there is another brought home by a traveller from Turkey. For fifteen years I have been collecting similar paper, but have not succeeded in getting together any amount although there are perhaps twenty Orientals engaged in searching for it on my behalf. Some leaves from a manuscript[84] dated A.D. 1599, have a rose-bush pattern, which is worthy of a great decorator. From information I have obtained from the old paper connoisseurs of Constantinople, this art is now a thing of the past, and that such paper originally cost about a pound for a fine page. As a rule it is not realised how much the Turks were willing to pay for artistically made paper, nor how expensive was the paper used in manuscripts.

The artists never considered the cost of the manuscripts. We know of manuscripts of the Koran which were executed at a cost of thousands of pounds. A Shāh Nāmah manuscript in the library of the Sultan is stated to have cost in paper, ornaments in gold, and the salary of the scribes, eighteen purses of gold, and the grand Vazir Muḥammad Pasha who had it executed in the first half of the 17th century gave the artist 1,000 gold pieces as a gratuity.

Though only used for bindings, I cannot refrain from mentioning in this connection the sole cultural invention made by the Turks—I do not count as such their greatest glory, siege guns—*viz.*, the marbled paper so much employed by us Europeans since the commencement of the 17th century. Europeans in the 17th century sent paper to Constantinople to have it marbled, for the Turks were familiar with the process at the end of the 16th century.

This art has also become extinct in Turkey, the last person exercising it having died two years ago, but although blind and deaf, and over ninety, he still decorated his paper with a richness of colouring and combination of fine tints that surpassed any produced in Europe even in the most flourishing days of the paper industry or by modern artists who esteem their products works of art.

Before using paper the Orientals polished it in the following manner:— A plank of chestnut-wood of even grain having been obtained, the paper was placed on it and rubbed with a crystal egg weighing about half-a-pound. The paper, after this process of rubbing and polishing, became as shining and glossy as glass. At times the paper was rubbed with soap or the white of egg to render it more easy to write on.

Drawings in black were generally executed with the qalam, of which the best kind came from Wāsiṭ in Mesopotamia.

Brushes were made from the hair of squirrels' tails. Worn brushes were carefully kept for fine outline work. In Ceylon, brushes for very fine drawings are made of the awns of the "teli tana" grass, and are admirably adapted to their purpose. The first outline was generally made with Indian red (garika), a colour used by mendicants for dyeing their clothes, and was used for the outlines without gum. The finishing outlines were made with lampblack which was prepared by burning a camphor wick in a lamp filled with mustard oil.

Rose colour was made from ceruse from Kashgar and vermilion, the proportion in weight being that the vermilion should be one-fourth of that of the ceruse. Should the vermilion be but half the proportion of ceruse the colour becomes more vivid than rose, and passes to red if the amount of vermilion be increased.

Green is produced by a mixture of orpiment and indigo, the latter in the proportion of one-sixth the weight of the orpiment. If verdant green be desired a fourth of the indigo should be used. Some, instead of the indigo, employed peori, a kind of yellow earth found in India; this yellow being far more vivid than that of orpiment.

Yellow is made solely from orpiment or peori.

White is derived from ceruse from Kashgar which is carefully ground in a mortar and mixed with an oil specially prepared for the colours.

Black is lampblack taken from the lamp and mixed with the above-mentioned oil.

Emerald green is made from verdigris reduced to a fine powder and then mixed with the oil.

Blue rose was in fine manuscripts made of powdered lapis lazuli. In manuscripts which have for years been exposed to the damp the medium has lost its force and the lapis lazuli powder falls away leaving the place white. This is often seen in Timurid manuscripts.

Greenish blue is the result of mixing indigo with yellow orpiment. In order to obtain the varieties of green called vesce (olive green), mung green (mung being an Indian vegetable, the paseolus mungo), tarbuzi (water melon green), various proportions of lampblack, orpiment, and indigo are used.

Aubergine is produced by mixing lampblack and hormuzi (brownish ochre obtained from the island Hormuz, in the Persian gulf).

Almond colour was made from an earth which was of the same colour as that from Multan.

The mediums used with colours were water gum, glue, sugar, and linseed water.

Gold. The best gold was known as Panna gold which was obtained from the State Gold Mines at Panna, in India. Gold size was made by boiling fourteen ounces of gum and two ounces of sugar in four ounces of water. When cold it was ready for use.

A very delicate question is the mounting of miniatures. I think the only right way is to copy the landscape of the East, where the rich places seem much richer after a long journey in the desert. The richer a miniature be the larger the paper can be which is used as a passe-partout. It is extremely difficult to find a coloured paper which does not harm the effect of a miniature. They are best kept in portfolios, but one or two very rich ones may be hung on the wall, in a very thin frame of old gold. The miniatures have so much colour and sun in them that they require to be framed as simply as possible.

I ought also to say a few words about the forgeries which overflow the market, especially that of Paris. The Riẓā school is above all others easy to copy and sometimes marvellous copies are produced. Unfortunately this book will give the forgers plenty of models. Bihzād or Mīrak cannot possibly be forged and even if an attempt is made, the blue, the red and the gold are always of a different tone since the original colours can never be imitated. With manuscripts, amateurs must be still more careful, because those originally without miniatures, have now recently been filled with them. If the paper on such a page is not quite plain it is better to hold the page against the light to see if the old writing shines through. In those which I have seen, the faces have been too creamy white. One can never look too carefully at a manuscript which is now offered for sale. The Armenians are just as clever as the Japanese.

Quite lately in one of the great libraries of Europe there was exhibited, as belonging to the end of the 13th century, a forged manuscript. The text was really composed at that date, but this copy was executed for one of the early Timurid princes—its splendid ornaments have all the characteristics of that period and the miniatures have been painted in spaces left blank and also in some cases over the text, some time after 1908, when one of the few existing good Persian artists left his patron, a Persian prince, and began to work for Armenian dealers of Teheran, Constantinople and Paris. He has now many pupils. Every month hundreds of miniatures are executed and there are very few dealers or collectors who have not bought examples of their work. In fact, I do not know a single collector who has not been deceived by them. Even I myself was on the point of buying one of this man's first productions, a copy of the miniature in the Musée des Arts Decoratifs (Plate 52), executed as a sketch in black and white. These forgers have bought all the photographs which were taken of the miniatures at the Munich exhibition which they will doubtless utilise in the preparation of more specimens of their fraudulent work.

CHAPTER XIII

List of Painters

Painters during the Fatimia Dynasty, A.D. 909-1171, *and until the fall of the Caliphate at Baghdad*, A.D. 1258.

Al-Kitāmī. (*See* page 4.)

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan, died A.H. 365 (A.D. 975).

Ustād Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf.

Ustād Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad.

Abū Tammām Ḥaidara in the 10th century.

Drawing of a man on horseback, probably a sketch for a miniature, No. 954 in the Collection of Papyrus of the Archduke Rainer at Vienna, illustrated in Karabacek's Guide to the Collection.

Ibn ʿAzīz, from ʿIrāq, worked during the reign of the Fatimid Caliph al-Mustanṣir, A.H. 427-487 (A.D. 1035-1094).

Qaṣīr, from Bassorah, worked also during the time of al-Mustanṣir.

Jamāl, from Ispahan, painter at the Court of Ṭughril, a Saljūq prince of Persia about A.D. 1180.

ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl, who painted :—

The miniatures in the Dioscorides Manuscript, part of which is in the possession of the author, dated A.H. 619 (A.D. 1222). (Plates 5—7.)

Yaḥyā ibn Maḥmūd, from Wāsiṭ in Babylonia, who painted :—

The miniatures in the Ḥarīrī Manuscript, once owned by Schefer, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, dated A.H. 634 (A.D. 1237). (Plates 9—12.)

Painter during the Mamluk Dynasties in Egypt.

Khwājah al-dīn ibn Dāya, painter and chamberlain to the Court of Baybars, A.H. 658-676 (A.D. 1260-1277).

Painters under the Mongols and Timurids of Persia.

Ustād Gung (the dumb), obtained the title Naqwat al-Muḥarrirīn, and had a pupil called

Ustād Jahāngīr, from Bukhārā, named 'Umdat al-Muṣavvirīn (the pillar of the painters) ; he was the teacher of

Pīr Sayyid Aḥmad, from Tabriz, who was the master of the celebrated Bihzād, the father of painting in Persia.

Junaid Naqqāsh Sulṭānī, who painted the miniatures in the manuscript of Khwājū Kirmānī, dated A.H. 799 (A.D. 1396), at Baghdad. (B.M., Add. 18113). (Plates 45-50.)

Pīr 'Alī.

Miniature. St. P. (Plate 100.)

Ibrāhīm, from Tabriz, son of a great dignitary at the Court of Bāisunghar, was known as a master in gilding in the famous calligraphic school of Bāisunghar.

Amīr Shāhī, was a master in mysticism, music (he played the lute), and in the refinements of calligraphy, the painting of miniatures and gilding. He belonged also to the famous Bāisunghar school ; he died A.H. 857 (A.D. 1453), and was buried in the mausoleum of his father and grandfather.

Sulṭān 'Alī Shustarī.

Three drawings. (Figs. 18 and 20.)

Ghiyāth al-dīn, a painter attached to an embassy sent to the Chinese Emperor in 1419 by the Timurid Shāh Rukh and other members of his family.

Bihzād.

Bihzād must have been born about A.D. 1460. He became the court painter of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā, who was Governor of Khurāsān A.H. 878–912. He worked exclusively in his service until the death of his patron, A.H. 912 (A.D. 1506), when he went into the service of Shāh Ismā'īl, with whom he was in great favour. He must have still been alive A.D. 1524, because he is named amongst the court artists of Shāh Ṭahmāsp in a list of A.D. 1524, and Khondamīr counts him as one of his contemporaries. He was buried at Tabriz, and his nephew, Rustam 'Alī of Khurāsān, pupil of Sulṭān 'Alī Mashhadī, who died A.H. 970 (A.D. 1562), was buried by his side.

Among his works are :—

Safar Nāmah, with twelve miniatures, written by Shīr 'Alī for Sulṭān Ḥusain Bahādur Khān, dated A.H. 872 (A.D. 1467). Formerly in the Schulz collection, now belonging to M. Goloubeff. It once belonged to the Mughal Emperors, as is proved by their seals, and Jahāngīr has written in it, "A.H. 1037, This book of Safar Nāmah, in the writing of Maulānā Shīr 'Alī, with eight pictures of one of the greatest masters, Bihzād, came into my library from the library of my grandfather, His Majesty Humāyūn, on the first day of my ascension to the throne (A.D. 1605), written by Jahāngīr ibn Akbar." Later this book was brought to Persia by Nādir Shāh and was sold for a few thousand francs to Dr. Schulz. (Plate 69.)

Khamsah of Nizāmī, written by 'Alī al-Mashhadī at Herat, A.H. 883 (A.D. 1478), with four miniatures probably by Bihzād, formerly belonging to MM. Tabbagh frères in Paris.

Khamsah of Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī, written A.H. 890 (A.D. 1485), with thirteen miniatures, all by Bihzād with the exception of perhaps one. Probably his finest work. (Plates 75–78.) F.R.M.

Dīvān, by Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā, dated A.H. 890 (A.D. 1485), with three miniatures perhaps by Bihzād, and written by the calligrapher Sulṭān 'Alī al-Mashhadī. (Bibliothèque Nationale. Suppl. turc 993.)

Būstān, by Sa'dī, dated A.H. 894 (A.D. 1488), in the Khedivial Library, Cairo, with six miniatures by Bihzād of which only one is signed in microscopic characters. (Plates 70, 71.)

Nizāmī, Haft Paikar, with five miniatures, of which three are signed in such microscopic letters that they are difficult to find. (Plate 67.) Belongs to Mr. Quaritch.

Khamsah of Nizāmī now belonging to the British Museum (Or. 6810), with sixteen miniatures by Bihzād and five by Mīrak, is dated A.D. 1494. To five of these has been added in a contemporary writing the signature of Qāsim 'Alī, an unknown artist. He has written his name also to a miniature which is in the style of Mīrak. This seems to shew that he was an exceedingly skilful contemporary copyist. (Plates 72, 73.)

Lailā and Majnūn, copied by Sulṭān Muḥammad Nūr, with four miniatures by Bihzād. From the Ardabīl Library, now at St. Petersburg (394). (Plate 79.)

Manuscript of the same, with two miniatures (St. Petersburg, 395). (Plate 80.)

Nizāmī (B.M. Add. 25900). One of the miniatures in this marvellously minute manuscript bears the name of Bihzād written in the text, but in a different way from all other known genuine signatures. It may be a work of his when he was old. Although the manuscript is dated A.H. 846 (A.D. 1442) it is certain that almost all the miniatures are of the beginning of the Ṣafavid period. They have not the brilliant colour of Bihzād; he seems to have been very feeble when he executed them. (Figs. 24-26.)

Manuscript executed for 'Abd al-'Azīz Bahādur, of Bukhārā, dated A.H. 929 (A.D. 1522), in the Goloubeff collection, four miniatures certainly by Bihzād.

Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nevā'ī's works, a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, dated A.D. 1527, contains a fighting scene probably by Bihzād. In the same volume, another miniature is perhaps by him, and another, a battle scene, seems to be a copy after him.

Miniatures by Bihzād.

Portrait of a dervish, from Baghdad, from the Bellini Album. (Plate 85.) F.R.M.

Portrait of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā, a copy after Bihzād, in the author's collection. (Plate 89.)

Miniature scene on a terrace, signed. V.G.

Miniature, belonged to a Paris dealer, signed.

Miniature found in India, belonged to an English collector.

Portrait of a sitting dervish. J.D. (Plate 91.)

Portrait of a prisoner. J.D. (Plate 82.)

Portrait of Murād. R.K. (Plate 83.)

Portrait of an old man, painted on silk. (Plate 90.) F.R.M.

Portrait of a dervish. B.N. Od. 41, res. 17. (Plate 88.)

Copy after the Turkish prince, painted by Gentile Bellini. J.D. (Plate 225.)

Drawings by Bihzād.

Portrait (unfinished) of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā, from the Bellini Album. (Plate 81.) F.R.M.

Drawing with seven figures, one of them sitting on a throne, signed Ustād Bihzād, in the famous album of Sultan Murād, in the Imperial Library at Vienna.

Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā on horseback, signed on the saddle, "Bihzād." V.G.

Tartar on horseback. V.G. (Plate 87.)

Two lions. B.N. Arabe 6075.

Hunting scene. B.N. Arabe 6074.

Drawing after one of the figures in the Dihlavī manuscript of F.R.M., signed and dated A.H. 892. De.

Portrait of an amir, signed Bihzād Sulṭānī. (Plate 89.)

Man on horseback. (Plate 87.)

Three lions. (Plate 86.)

Wounded man held by two comrades. Bibliothèque Nationale. (Plate 87.)

The eastern writers mention a copy of Tīmūr Nāmah, ornamented with paintings by Bihzād and copied by Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā's celebrated calligrapher, Sulṭān 'Alī al-Mashhadī, which formed part of the library of the Grand Mogul Humāyūn, son of Bābar. When that library was looted by the soldiers of Gujarāt, this work was appropriated, and later on was incorporated in the library of the Emperor Akbar. Perhaps the same as that which belonged to Dr. Schulz.

He is also said to have illustrated a copy of the Khamsah of Nizāmī, written for Shāh Ṭahmāsp by Maulānā Maḥmūd, a pupil of Mīr 'Alī.

The Khamsah of Nizāmī, dated A.H. 1029 (A.D. 1619), in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Suppl. Persan 1029), is probably a copy after a manuscript illustrated by Bihzād, and is an interesting example of the way in which artists tried to exactly copy him so late as in the beginning of the 17th century.

Three Indian copies with forged signatures are in B.M. (Or. 1372.)

Āghā Mīrak and other pupils of Bihzād.

Āghā Mīrak is thought to have been a pupil of Bihzād. He was a Sayyid from Ispahan and was without a rival in his art as a worker in ivory, as an engraver and an illuminator of manuscripts. He must have begun to work at the end of the 15th century at Herat, as most of the buildings there are said to be adorned with inscriptions by his hand. As miniatures signed by him are in the Nizāmī in the British Museum (Or. 2265), A.D. 1539–1542, the statement that he died during the time of Muḥammad Khān, of the Shaybāns of Bukhārā, who died, A.D. 1510, must be considered to be a mistake of the Oriental writers.

His pupils were Sulṭān Muḥammad from Tabriz, Mīrzā ʿAlī from Tabriz, Ustād Ḥusain Tūtī, Shāh Qulī Naqqāsh, and Ustād Malik Muḥammad Qāsim. Amongst his works are :—

The complete works of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nevāʾī. A superb manuscript written at Herat A.H. 934 (A.D. 1527). B.N. (Suppl. turc 316). With miniatures by Bihzād and Mīrak. The miniatures by Mīrak in this volume are :—Bahrām Gūr. (Plate 99.) The Princess in the desert, and a Bathing scene.

A manuscript of the Khamsah of Nizāmī formerly belonging to the author, dated A.D. 1524, which comes from the library of the Ṣafavids, and later belonged to Ḥusain, the second son of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh. (Plates 97–99.)

Ladies in a garden on gold ground. (Plate 96.) St. P.

Khamsah of Nizāmī in the British Museum (Or. 2265), mentioned above, contains five miniatures by him.

Three portraits. B.N. Arabe 6076. 8, 8v and 13v are probably by his hand.

Shaikhzāda Maḥmūd, of Khurāsān, probably the same as Ustād Sulṭān Maḥmūd, was a pupil of Bihzād and the master of ʿAbdallāh Muṣavvir.

His works are :—

A miniature signed by Shaikhzāda Maḥmūd, is found in a manuscript of the Tuḥfat al-Aḥrār by Jāmī, in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Suppl. Persan 1416) ; the manuscript was copied in A.H. 905 (A.D. 1499), by Sulṭān ʿAlī al-Mashhadī, and afterwards came into the hands of Jahāngīr, who valued it at 1,500 rupees. It contains four miniatures which appear to be copies after Bihzād. The signature (which I believe to be genuine) is on a drum which a man holds in his hands. The profuse use of the black colour, the colour of the Mongol court, in the fine ornaments of the manuscript, is interesting.

A manuscript of the Khamsah of Nizāmī, executed in Bukhārā A.H. 942 (A.D. 1535), for the library of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Sultan of Bukhārā, A.D. 1540–1549, with three miniatures, (*a*) a landscape with horses, signed Shaikhzāda (Fig. 28) ; (*b*) a Sultan on his throne ; and (*c*) a reception with many figures, the heads of which have been re-painted by an Indian artist, are probably by Bihzād. In the manuscript is the following note written on gold ground. " This book comes

from my father, it is the work of Mīr 'Alī, written by the hand of Jalāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd Akbar Pādishāh, son of 'Abd al-'Aziz Bahādur." It has several other royal seals. L.C.

Manuscript belonging to MM. Tabbagh frères in Paris, written by Shāh Maḥmūd, dated A.H. 908 (A.D. 1502), with miniatures representing pastoral scenes, men in blue robes, etc.

'Abdallāh Muṣavvir, of Khurāsān, also known as a decorator of borders and manuscripts, was the pupil of Shaikhzāda.

A miniature signed "Painter and Gilder 'Abdallāh." W.S. (Plate 101.)

A fine manuscript of Gulistān, dated A.D. 1543, has miniatures which are said to be signed by him. Marteau collection in Paris.

A portrait probably by him. (Plate 101.) H.V.

Ṣādiq is also said to have been a pupil of Bihzād; among his works are:—

A drawing of a portrait. (Plate 92.) V.G.

Two drawings from the Bellini Album. (Plate 93.) F.R.M.

Shāh Ṭahmāsp School.

Sulṭān Muḥammad, also called Ḥājī Muḥammad Naqqāsh or Mīr Naqqāsh, became the Principal of the painting studio of Shāh Ṭahmāsp at Tabriz, and also chief illuminator to the Shah. He was a pupil of Bihzād and Mīrak. He was distinguished in the art of bookbinding and many other branches of decorative art. He designed carpets and I believe he made the sketch for the famous hunting carpet of the Emperor of Austria. He had an encyclopædic mind, always ready to note curious things heard in conversation. He invented a clock contained in a box; this clock, which was in the Library of Mīr 'Alī Shīr, moved a female figure which held a wand in its hand, with which the hours were struck on a kettle-drum placed in front of the figure. Exceedingly clever in painting miniatures and applying gold, he for some time devoted himself to the manufacture of porcelain, the works he produced after innumerable trials and trouble resembling the porcelain of China, but the colours used in its decoration were not exactly the same. He went to Turkey during the reign of Sulaimān, who had a studio reserved for his particular use among the edifices in the seraglio. He found himself the object of affectionate attention on the part of the monarch, who visited him and assigned to him a pension of 100 aspers a day. He died about A.D. 1555, when Pīr Muḥammad Khān Shaybānī was just commencing his conquests.

Among his pupils were Muḥammad Beg, his own son, and Ṣabūḥī 'Alī, of Ardabīl, and Muḥammad Mu'īn, of Khurāsān. The only certain signatures of him are found in the manuscript described on page 64. Among his numerous works are :—

Miniatures in the Nizāmī of Ṭahmāsp (B.M., Or. 2265), dated A.D. 1539–1542. (Plates 114–118.)

Two drawings with dancing figures, after originals by the famous 12th century Chinese miniature painter, Li Lung-mien. (Plate 102.) St. P.

Some miniatures which are signed Muḥammadī seem to me so perfectly in his style that I think Muḥammadī must mean pupil of Sulṭān Muḥammad or copied from the studies of the same.

Maulānā Muẓaffar 'Alī, who is said to have painted most of the paintings in the palace of Chihil Sutūn at Ispahan, and been the pupil of Bihzād. He is probably the same as Shāh Muẓaffar who is praised in the memoirs of Bābar as rendering hair very cleverly. He died young before becoming celebrated. He was extraordinarily clever in rendering the idea of motion in people and animals.

Miniature in the Nizāmī of Shāh Ṭahmāsp (B.M., Or. 2265), dated A.D. 1539–1542.

Two miniatures in the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg.

Mīrzā Zain al-'Ābidīn, of Ispahan, was a pupil of Sulṭān Muḥammad.

Mīrzā 'Alī, of Tabriz, was a pupil of Bihzād and Mīrak, and was considered to be the chief of all the designers of arabesque golden ornaments (Ṭaraḥ) and he probably executed the extraordinarily fine ornaments, the buildings, etc., in the miniatures of his two celebrated masters.

Four miniatures, signed by him, in the Nizāmī of Shāh Ṭahmāsp (B.M., Or. 2265), dated A.D. 1539–1542.

He had a pupil named Kamāl. (*See* page 120.)

Ustād Malik Muḥammad Qāsim or Qāsim ibn Shāh Shādī, from 'Irāq or Shiraz, was a master of calligraphy, poetry, and miniature painting, and is celebrated all over the civilised world for his arabesques. He died A.H. 947 (A.D. 1540).

Among his works are :—

Some fine miniatures in the MS. Or. 1372. B.M.

Manuscript of Yūsuf and Zulaika, in my collection, dated A.H. 929 (A.D. 1523). (Plate 246.)

Portrait of Walī, tobacco bearer, in the "House of Peace" (Baghdad) signed Muḥammad Qāsim. B.N. Od. res. 41, 33.

Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Ḥusainī, lived at the end of the 16th century, Bukhārā school, was inspired by the work of Mīrak.
Love Scene. (Plate 152.)

Siyāwush, the Georgian, pupil of Ḥasan of Baghdad (see under Persian decorators) became a painter.

Ustād Miḥrāb, brother of Ustād Ḥasan, of Baghdad, was a pupil of Siyāwush and soon became his rival.

Shāh Qulī Naqqāsh was a pupil of Mīrak, and it is said that he would have surpassed Bihzād and the best painters if only his dissipated life had permitted him to continue his studies and develop his talent. The Persians praise him exceedingly. He must have been working about A.D. 1530. He was allowed the extraordinary pension of one hundred aspers a day. His only known work are two signed drawings representing winged genii of extraordinary minuteness. Belongs to M. Beghian, in Stambul. One of his pupils was

'Alī Jān, of Tabriz, who lived in Aleppo and was remarkably clever in Ṭaraḥ work.

Khwājah 'Abd al-Azīz, of Ispahan, was the artist most favoured by Shāh Ṭahmāsp, was even his teacher, but together with his favourite pupil Maulānā 'Alī Aṣghar, he led a wild life, and failed to develop his talent. He was employed in the painting studio of Shāh Ṭahmāsp more particularly as a decorator, but in consequence of some fault he committed, he excited the anger of the Shah, who commanded his nose and ears to be cut off.
A superb miniature, signed Khwājah 'Abd al-Azīz, like those in the Shāh Ṭahmāsp Nizāmī manuscript (B.M., Or. 2265), in a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale (1572, Suppl. Persan).

Muḥammad Beg (about A.D. 1580) was the son and pupil of Sulṭān Muḥammad of Tabriz. He was also a pupil of Mīrak. He was distinguished in the art of decorating bookbindings, and other decorative arts.
Portrait of Muḥammad 'Alī Muzahhib (the gilder). V.G.
Winged angel in the Bellini Album (Plate 107), signed Muḥammad Beg. His pupil was

Ṣaḥūbī 'Alī, of Ardabīl.

Muḥammad Mu'īn al-dīn, of Khurāsān, was a pupil of Sulṭān Muḥammad of Tabriz, and of Mīrak.
Dervish, signed Mu'īn al-dīn (Plate 88). V.G.

Maḥmūd, who was probably also one of Āghā Mīrak's pupils, signed and dated A.H. 952 (A.D. 1545) two splendid miniatures in a superb manuscript, "The Treasury of Secrets," by Nizāmī, written in A.H. 944 (A.D. 1537), by Mīr 'Alī for the Uzbeg Sultan of Bukhārā, 'Abd al-'Azīz Bahādur Khān (B.N. Suppl. Persan 985).

Kamāl, of Tabriz, was a pupil of Mīrzā 'Alī of Tabriz. The art of Ṭarah (designing of arabesques) is that for which both he and his master are particularly celebrated, and it is sometimes deemed that he was the originator of this art. His works are :—

Lady with a blue bath cloth. F.R.M. (Plate 120.)

Duel between two princes, in the Album of Murād III. at Vienna. Drawing. F.R.M. (Plate 120.)

Drawing of a stout man, from the Bellini Album. V.G. (Plate 120.)

Luṭf Allāh :

Miniature, signed and dated A.H. 997 (A.D. 1589). De. (Plate 162.)

Muḥammad Yūsuf and Mīr Yūsuf, probably two different painters.

Miniature, signed Yūsuf, and dated A.H. 1016 (A.D. 1607). De.

Two sketches by Muḥammad Yūsuf, one dated A.H. 1055 (A.D. 1675). De. The other dated A.H. 1069 (A.D. 1658). W.S.

Young man, signed Mīr Yūsuf. C.A. (Plate 156.)

Two drawings by Muḥammad Yūsuf. Ch. V. (Plate 166.)

Āqā Riẓā or 'Alī Riẓā was a painter in the later years of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's reign. He came from Ispahan and was a pupil of the celebrated Mīr 'Alī of Herat. He died A.H. 981 (A.D. 1573–4).

Among his works are :—

Sitting dervish [not Sa'dī], in the Murād Album at the Imperial Library at Vienna, and a later copy of the imprisoned Murād is ascribed to him by Karabacek.

Portrait of a young prince. (Plate 106.) B.N.

Copy of a portrait by Sulṭān Muḥammad. (Plate 110.) B.M.

Horse from the stables of the Shah. (Plate 161.) C.A.

Young Prince. V.G. (Fig. 29.)

Young Prince playing a flute. V.G. (Fig. 30.)

Ustād Ḥusain Tūtī, of Qazvin, was a pupil of Sulṭān Muḥammad and Mīrak. He filled the exalted post of painter-in-chief at the court of Shāh Ismā'īl II. (A.D. 1576–1578). His pupil was probably Muḥammad Riẓā 'Abbāsī who died A.D. 1627 in Tabriz.

Muḥammad Riẓā 'Abbāsī, with Mullā sometimes prefixed to his name, and sometimes Tabrīzī added. He was contemporary to 'Imād. His master

was Mullā Muḥammad Ḥusain from Tabriz. In the year A.D. 1585 he was called to Constantinople, where he worked in the Imperial Arsenal, and he lived together with Nūr Chelebi, the favourite of the teacher of the Sultan, and the historiographer Sa'd al-Dīn. He returned to Tabriz with rich presents and money. He died there A.H. 1037 (A.D. 1627). The Turks praise him as a great master of delicate touch.

Seated dervish, dated and signed in gold, A.H. 1002 (A.D. 1593). V.G.

'Īsā, the painter, of Qazvin, carried on his art in the middle of the 16th century, having as a pupil Mīr 'Imād.

Mīr 'Imād was a Sayyid, of the branch of Ḥusaīn. His surname Ḥusain came from his grandfather Ḥusain 'Alī, also a celebrated calligrapher, born A.D. 1552 in Qazvin. As he followed 'Imād al-Mulk he took the name 'Imād. He was first a pupil of the painter 'Isā, and then he entered the studio of Malik Dailamī, a dervish, who lived retired from the world. Seeing he could derive no more profit from Malik Dailamī's lessons, and having heard of the celebrated Mullā Muḥammad Ḥusain, he went to Tabriz and worked there day and night to perfect his calligraphy. He was so absorbed in his work that he did not shave his head once in six months. One day he shewed one of his pictures to his master who said, "What a marvellous piece of calligraphy! If you can attain to this level, it will be indeed well." "But this is my writing," said the young man. "If it is so," said his teacher, "you have from this day become a master of calligraphy." With the permission of his master he went on to Turkey where he travelled about, and then returned to Khurāsān and visited Herat and then went back to Qazvin. He gave lessons to Shāh Ṭahmāsp in Ta'līq. He afterwards stayed there and only made small excursions to Gīlān and Rūdbār. In A.H. 1008 (A.D. 1599–1600) he fixed his residence at Ispahan and was honoured by Shāh 'Abbās, who employed him to write several copies of the Shāh Nāmah. His writing was different from that of other calligraphers, although he received lessons from Bābā Shāh at Ispahan, whose manner he first imitated, and Mullā Muḥammad Ḥusain, and he copied writings of Sultān 'Alī Mashhadī, Mīr 'Alī Kātib and Qiblat al-Kuttāb. He died a violent death at the age of 63, in the year A.H. 1024 (A.D. 1615). There are many stories about his death. The truth is that as he was a fervent Musalman and advocated a political union that was intended to sweep away the differences of the sects, he was denounced by his rivals, his opinions were condemned as heretical and caused him to be put to death. Shāh 'Abbās was fonder of 'Alī Riẓā 'Abbāsī, who also had been a pupil of Mullā Muḥammad Ḥusain

and the fellow-student of Mīr 'Imād. The Shāh once took a candlestick and held it with his own hand for 'Alī Riẓā 'Abbāsī while he was writing. 'Alī Riẓā was appointed librarian and private secretary of the Shāh. Mīr 'Imād, conscious of his noble birth and the value of his talent, could not endure that his rival should be so favoured and he once introduced into his verses some words of a double meaning, which displeased the Shāh. It was very dangerous to use such a language at the court of a monarch so jealous as Shāh 'Abbās was. One evening Maqṣūd Beg, one of the best friends of Mīr 'Imād, invited him to dinner. On the way he was attacked and cut to pieces. The fragments of his body were collected and buried at the cemetery of Marzaghān. As often happens in the East the murderer was treated in the same way by the Shāh. When Jahāngīr heard of the murder he wept for grief and said, "If Shāh 'Abbās had sent him to me I would have paid his weight in pearls for him." I know no picture by his hand, only splendid calligraphy.

17th Century.

'Alī Riẓā 'Abbāsi, of Tabriz, was given the title of Shāh Nawāz, "flatterer of the king." He was the rival and adversary of Mīr 'Imād, and a celebrated and very productive calligrapher and painter; like his son, Badī' al-Zamān Tabrīzī, he excelled in various arts. He has left innumerable drawings. His first dated drawing is of A.D. 1614. Dr. Sarre in Berlin owns an album with about 50 sketches by his hand, mostly dated A.D. 1638–1643, some of them executed in Ispahan. A great number are in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The statement of his pupil Mu'īn that he died A.H. 1044 must be wrong.

Among his many works several are reproduced on Plates 157–160, 162, and 163.

Miniature in the B.N., Paris. (Suppl. Persan 1813.) Arabe 6074.

A horse with groom. C.A.

Portrait of 'Abd al-Malik Kamān, finished on Wednesday, the fourth of Rajab, A.H. 1048, by the humble Riẓā 'Abbāsī (A.D. 1638).

In accordance with the command of his exalted Highness the Nawab, this portrait of the late Ustād Muḥammad Haratī, I, the meanest of servants, have executed, and it has been honoured and adorned with the notable seal. By the humble Riẓā 'Abbāsī.

A Man with snakes. "On Friday, the tenth of Shawwāl, A.H. 1041 (A.D. 1632), it was finished by the humble Riẓā 'Abbāsī." (Plate 158.)

On the first of Jumāda al-Awwal, A.H. 1041 (25th November, A.D. 1631), it was finished by the humble Riẓā 'Abbāsī.

For the Sulṭān of Faqīrs, Darvīsh 'Abd al-Malik Astarābādī, Wednesday, the eleventh of Rajab, by Muḥammad Riẓā 'Abbāsī. (Plate 158.)

In the collection of M. Demotte in Paris are the following :—

Figure signed Sunday, 4 Safar, 1044, drawn by the humble Riẓā 'Abbāsī for his son Muḥammad Shafī'.

Figure in a white dress, signed work of the humble Riẓā 'Abbāsī.

Figure in a violet dress, signed work of the humble Riẓā 'Abbāsī.

Figure with a branch of flowers, signed work of the humble Riẓā 'Abbāsī.

A Princess: "this has value because it is the work of Shaikh 'Abbāsī, 1071."

Landscape with buildings: "On the day of Wednesday, 13 Safar, 1028, May God finish it with happiness and victory. This work was by the great Master Bihzād, May God cover him with clemency, drawn by Riẓā Muṣavvir 'Abbāsī," and another signature "Friday, Jumāda al-Awwal, 1064, the anniversary of Āqā Riẓā, May God pardon the humble Shafī' 'Abbāsī, son of Riẓā." (Fig. 39.) De.

Portrait of Shafī' 'Abbāsī, son of Riẓā 'Abbāsī.

Muḥammad Riẓā Mashhadī, who lived during the reign of Shāh 'Abbās I. and Ṣafī I.

About 20 drawings and painted miniatures in a manuscript (CDLXXXIX.), dated A.H. 1041-1042 (A.D. 1631-1633), in the St. Petersburg Library.

British Museum, Or. 1372, 4b, 7a, 11a, 34b.

Standing man, dated A.D. 1598. Sarre.

Badī' al-Zamān Tabrīzī, the son of 'Alī Riẓā 'Abbāsī, was a master of various arts, as was his father also. He spent both night and day in studying science and perfecting himself in writing. In a very short time he acquired several languages, wrote well in both prose and verse, and was admitted to the highest rank in the meetings of the learned. Unfortunately he did not live long enough fully to enjoy this enviable position. His tomb is at Ispahan, in the Takht-i-Fūlād cemetery.

Muḥammad Shafī' 'Abbāsī, son of Riẓā 'Abbāsī, lived about A.H. 1066 (A.D. 1656).

Miniatures in the manuscript at St. Petersburg, CDLXXXIX.

Muḥammad Zamān, son of Ḥājī Yūsuf, was a converted Persian who was sent to Rome under Shāh 'Abbās II. (A.D. 1642–1667), and returned to Persia as a Christian under the name of Paolo Zamān. Having been obliged to quit his native country he obtained in India the protection of Shāh Jahān, who granted him with other exiled Persians, allowances as a mansabdār in Kashmir. Early in Aurangzīb's reign all the Persian refugee mansabdārs were summoned to court for the verification of their grants, and on that occasion, about A.D. 1660, Manucci made the acquaintance of Muḥammad or Paola Zamān, who avowed his Christian profession while he continued to live in the ordinary Muhammadan manner.

Two ladies in European style, signed and dated A.H. 1087.

Two miniatures, dated A.H. 1086. B.M. (Or. 2265.)

Elizabeth visits the Virgin. A.H. 1089. F.R.M. (Plate 173.)

The Flight to Egypt. A.H. 1100. F.R.M. (Plate 173.)

Muḥammad 'Alī Muṣavvir, the designer, was son of Malik Ḥusain, of Ispahan, lived at the end of the 17th century.

Young Girl, signed. De.

Young Girl, signed. De.

Young Girl, signed. De.

One miniature. W.S.

One miniature signed, "painter Muḥammad 'Alī," dated A.D. 1658.

Dervish. C.A.

Muḥammad Ṣādiq or Ṣādiq Beg ibn Ḥāfiz Ibrāhīm.

Manuscript written and painted by him, dated A.H. 1032 (A.D. 1632). W.S.

Seven miniatures, with rather doubtful signatures. B.N. Suppl. Persan 1171.

Shāh Qāsim, the gilder, A.D. 1604–1626.

Eight miniatures and a manuscript. W.S.

Young man. B.N., Arabe 6076.

'Alī Qulī Beg Chūbahdār, about A.H. 1063 (A.D. 1652).

In the Manuscript at St. Petersburg, CDLXXXIX.

Portrait of Prince of Condé. (Plate 172.)

Malik Ḥusain Isfahānī.

Kneeling man. B.N., Arabe 6074.

Afẓal al-Ḥusainī lived about the middle of the 17th century.

Superb manuscript of Shāh Nāmah, A.D. 1642–1650, in the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg, 333.

Portrait of dervish. C.A. (Plate 149.)

Figure dated and signed A.H. 1054 (A.D. 1644). De.

Minūchihr, painter and calligrapher in the middle of the 17th century.

Birds. V.G. (Plate 164.)

Young prince, signed "masterpiece of Minūchihr," and dated A.H. 1045 (A.D. 1635). De.

A specimen of his penmanship is dated A.H. 1075 (A.D. 1664). B.M. MS. Add. 22770, fol. 12.

Mu'īn Muṣavvir, painter in the second half of the 17th century.

Miniature dated A.H. 1088 (A.D. 1677).

Portrait signed, "As an exercise the painter Mu'īn made a portrait of the late Qāsim 'Uṭārid-raqam, A.H. 1072" (A.D. 1662). V.G.

Several drawings. C.A.

"Portrait of the late Riẓā 'Abbāsī, made by his pupil Mu'īn Muṣavvir in the year 1084, 40 years after the death of Riẓā 'Abbāsī, A.H. 1044." B.Q.

In the collection of M. Demotte in Paris, are the following :—

Portrait of a Turk, signed "Saturday 19 in the month Rabī' al-Awwal, is this made 1103 by Mu'īn Muṣavvir."

Drawing of a kneeling man. "For my son Mīrzā Qāsim Bahā (whom may God preserve) this was made the 9th of Jumāda 'l-Ukhrā 1073. May it bring happiness. Perfect work of Mu'īn Muṣavvir."

Figure scene drawing. "I have done this for my son Mīrzā Qāsim, written by Mu'īn."

Man with a dog. "Thursday the 14th of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah of the year 1089, drawn as a souvenir. May it bring happiness. Mu'īn Muṣavvir."

Three heads of animals. "The month of Shawwāl 1084, written by Mu'īn Muṣavvir."

Head of a man. "The 13th of Shawwāl 1084, for my own amusement, Mu'īn Muṣavvir."

Man on horseback. "In the evening of Thursday the 27th of Ṣafar, 1057, is this done by M.M. May it bring happiness."

Three figures. "Made by M.M."

Man riding on a lion. "The 5 in the month of Rajab, 1100, as a souvenir made by M.M."

Figure. "1090 the month of Rajab."

Young couple. "In the evening of Monday the 19th of Shawwāl in the happy year 1089 is this made. May it bring happiness. Drawn by M.M."

Riẓā Faryābī.

Portrait of Kamrān, Shāh of Herat. In an album in the Khedivial Library, Cairo.

Mīrzā Kūchak, from Ispahan.

Portrait of a servant of Riẓā Khān, prince of Lahore. In an album in the Khedivial Library, Cairo.

Khairāt Khān.

Miniature. W.S. Munich Catalogue 781.

Muḥammad Qāsim, about A.D. 1700.

Signed miniatures in the Schulz collection and Czartorisky Museum at Krakau.

Lady in red cloak, signed and dated A.H. 1004. De.

Muḥibb 'Alī, painter, remarkable for his work in "ḥall-kārī" or liquid gold.

Portrait of a princess named Ẓiyā al-Salṭanah, Bibliothèque Nationale, Arabe 6076.

Asad Allāh Shīrāzī.

Portrait of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Khān, at Cairo.

Portrait of a Muẓaffārid princess. B.N., Arabe 6076.

Jānī, son of Ustād Bahrām, executed at Ispahan in A.H. 1096 (A.D. 1685). Migeon says he was a great landscape-painter.

An album of drawings and portraits executed for Engelbert Kaempfer now at the British Museum. (*See* Amoenitates Exoticae, p. 291.)

A great divan of Shaikh Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Julshānī, in the Khedivial Library at Cairo.

Painters of the 18th Century in Persia.

Ashraf, worked about A.D. 1740.

Mir Kalān, about the middle of the 18th century.

Miniature at St. Petersburg, 1589.

Maḥmūd Riẓā Hindī, about A.D. 1735.
Miniature in the Manuscript, St. Petersburg, CDLXXXIX.
Miniature in an album in the Khedivial Library, Cairo.

Mīrzā Hādī.
Miniature. W.S.

Mīrzā Bābā.
Miniature. W.S.

Ibrāhīm the Baluchi in Astarabad, dated A.D. 1719.
Miniature. W.S.

Muḥammad-panāh.
Portrait of Nādir Shāh. (Plate 168.)

Muḥammad Muṣavvir, about A.D. 1700.
Portraits of Tartar Embassy. (Plate 167.)

Painters in the 19th Century.

Shāh Najaf.
Miniature. W.S.

Ismā'īl.
The figures on the Qalamdān of Mu'tamad (736–76) in the Victoria and Albert Museum are all excellent portraits by Ismā'īl.

'Abdallāh Khān, the painter of Shāh Faṭh 'Alī, died at an advanced age at the commencement of the reign of Shāh Muḥammad.

Court Painters of Akbar or of his Period.

Basāwan, court painter to Akbar. "In painting back-grounds, the drawing of features and arrangement of colouring, also in portrait painting, and several other branches of art he was an excellent artist, insomuch that many critics prefer him to Daswanth." Ā'īn i Akbarī.
Twenty-nine pictures in the famous manuscript of the Razm Nāmah, now at Jaipur, India, which is said to have cost him about £40,000, a sum which in our days would be much greater.
Manuscript of the Akbar Nāmah, in the India Museum, South Kensington.

Daswanth, court painter to Akbar. "He was the son of a palkee bearer, and devoted his entire life to art, from love of his profession, drawing and painting figures even on walls. One day the eye of His Majesty was attracted to him, and his talent being discovered, he was handed over to the Khwājah, in a short time surpassing all other painters and becoming the first master of the age. Unfortunately the brilliancy of his talents was dimmed by the cloud of madness, and he committed suicide. He has, however, left many masterpieces." Ā'īn i Akbarī.

Twenty-one pictures in the Razm Nāmah.

Akbar Nāmah. I.M.

Farrukh the Qalmāq (Calmuc).

Three miniatures in the Nizāmī of Mr. Dyson Perrins.

A drawing in the Louvre representing Murād the last Āq-quyunlī has the following inscription :—"The portrait of Bairām Oglan," by Farrukh Beg.

British Museum (Bābar Nāmah, Or. 3714, which contains some extraordinarily fine drawings of trees, and Or. 4615 whose miniatures are sometimes very rough copies of earlier pictures which may be by the painters named, but the signatures are all by one hand and of later date).

Razm Nāmah, Nos. 80, 137.

Akbar Nāmah. I.M.

Haribans mentioned in Ā'īn i Akbarī, Vol. I, p. 108.

Kesu. These two painters were members of the lowly Kahār or palanquin bearer caste. The elder, Kesu-dāsa, dedicated a collection of pictures, including copies and imitations of Christian work, to Akbar in A.D. 1588.

British Museum (Or. 3714 and 4615).

Razm Nāmah, Nos. 6, 31, 101.

Akbar Nāmah. I.M.

Khemkaran.

One miniature in the Nizāmī of Mr. Dyson Perrins.

Five in the Razm Nāmah (Nos. 20, 42, 66, 92, 145).

Akbar Nāmah. I.M.

Lāl.

One miniature in the Nizāmī of Mr. Dyson Perrins.

Twenty-nine in the Razm Nāmah.

Akbar Nāmah. I.M.

Mukund.

Three miniatures in the Nizāmī of Mr. Dyson Perrins.
Fifteen in the Razm Nāmah.
Akbar Nāmah. I.M.

Sūr Gujarātī.

Two miniatures in the Nizāmī of Mr. Dyson Perrins.

Bhūrah.

One miniature in the Nizāmī of Mr. Dyson Perrins.
British Museum (Or. 3714 and 4615).
Razm Nāmah, Nos. 34, 88.

Kanak Sing.

One miniature in the Nizāmī of Mr. Dyson Perrins.

Bhīm Gujarātī.

One miniature in the Nizāmī of Mr. Dyson Perrins.
British Museum (Or. 3714).

Rāmdās.

British Museum (Or. 3714).
Five miniatures in the Razm Nāmah.
Akbar Nāmah. I.M.

Sānwlah.

Three miniatures in the Nizāmī of Mr. Dyson Perrins.
British Museum (Or. 3714 and 4615).
Razm Nāmah, No. 4.
Akbar Nāmah. I.M.

Tārā.

Razm Nāmah, Nos. 43, 44, 71, 78, 85, 86, 118.
Akbar Nāmah. I.M.

Jagan Nāth.

One miniature in the Nizāmī of Mr. Dyson Perrins.
Six in the Razm Nāmah.
British Museum (Or. 3714 and 4615).
Akbar Nāmah. I.M.

Manohar.

Three miniatures in the Nizāmī of Mr. Dyson Perrins.
Portrait of Dilpasand, or Heart's Delight, a favourite charger of Dārā Shukoh. Johnson Collection, Vol. III., fol. 1.

Dharm Dās.

Four miniatures in the Nizāmī of Mr. Dyson Perrins.

Nar Singh.

One miniature in the Nizāmī of Mr. Dyson Perrins.

'Abd al-Ṣamad, styled Shīrīn-qalam (or sweet pen), from Shiraz.

One miniature in the Nizāmī of Mr. Dyson Perrins.
Akbar Nāmah. I.M.

Miskīn (Miskīnah).

One miniature in the Nizāmī of Mr. Dyson Perrins, and
Five in the Razm Nāmah.
Akbar Nāmah. I.M.

Nand Gwāliārī.

One miniature in the Nizāmī of Mr. Dyson Perrins.
British Museum (Or. 3714).

Bhagvatī, a painter of the 16th century, to whom we are indebted for a portrait of the Emperor Humāyūn.

B.M., Add. 18801, 42. Portrait of the Emperor Humāyūn.
B.M., Shāh Nāmah. Add. 5600.

Nānhā, court painter to Akbar and Jahāngīr, but not inscribed in the list of Abul Faẓl. Nānhā was an Indian Holbein.

He painted three miniatures in the Nizāmī of Mr. Dyson Perrins, and
A superb portrait of one of the Mughal generals.
British Museum (Or. 4615).

Mīr Sayyid 'Alī from Tabriz, painter at the Court of Akbar. (Ā'īn i Akbarī, Vol. I. pp. 107, 590.) Better known as a poet under the name of Judāī.
He illuminated the story of Amīr Ḥamzah. (B.M. Or. 5600.)
Akbar Nāmah. I.M.

Madhū. Mentioned in Ma'āthir-i-Rahīmī (753) as in the service of 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khān Khānān, Akbar's commander-in-chief.

There are two painters of this name in the Razm Nāmah—Madhū the elder, and Madhū the younger.

Three miniatures in the Nizāmī of Mr. Dyson Perrins.
Akbar Nāmah. I.M.

Tiriyya.

Miniature, British Museum (Or. 3714 and 4615).
White crane, in Calcutta Museum.
Eight miniatures in the British Museum (Or. 3714).
Birds, V.G.

Mahesh.

British Museum (Or. 3714 and 4615).

Bhagwān.
British Museum (Or. 3714 and 4615).

Dhanū.
British Museum (Or. 3714 and 4615).

Ibrāhīm Kahār.
British Museum (Or. 3714 and 4615).

Chaturburj.
British Museum (Or. 4615).

Narāyan.
British Museum (Or. 3714).

Iqbāl Naqqāsh.
British Museum (Or. 3714).

Khusrau Qulī.
British Museum (Or. 3714).

Pars.
British Museum (Or. 3714).

Dhanrāj.
British Museum (Or. 3714).

Sankar Gujarātī.
British Museum (Or. 3714).

Banwārī.
British Museum (Or. 3714 and Or. 5600).

Court Painters of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān.

Manṣūr, on whom Jahāngīr conferred the title of Nādir al-Aṣr, and whom he described as being, with Abul Ḥasan, the best artist of his day. His works are most carefully executed and consist of delicate studies from nature, especially birds. On one of these, Jahāngīr himself has written the following note in Persian :—"This is a picture of a bird called jurz i barr painted by Ustād Manṣūr, the most eminent painter of his time. Written by Jahāngīr Akbar, Shāh, in the year 19 of his reign." (A.D. 1624).
British Museum (Or. 3714 and 4615).
A Partridge. V.G. (Plate 219.)
A Pheasant. B.Q. (Plate 220.)

Anūpchatar lived in the first part of the 17th century, and was at the Court of Shāh Jahāngīr.

British Museum, Add. 18801. pp. 28, 32.

28, His Majesty Shāh Jahān sitting with Princes and Amirs. (A.D. 1628-1659). (Plate 184.)

32, Portrait. (Plate 194.)

Muḥammad Nādir Samarqandī, one of the best painters during the reign of Shāh Jahān.

British Museum, Add. 18801:—

21, Bāqir A'zam Khān Sāvajī. (Plate 189.)

25, Ṣafī Mīrzā, son of Shāh 'Abbās.

26, Lashkar Khān, Ambassador to Persia.

33, Nawāb Khalīl Allāh Khān Shāh Ni'mat Allāh. (Plate 190.)

35, Dāniyāl Shāh, eldest son of Akbar.

40, The Emperor Shāh Jahān. (Plate 202.)

40, Emperor Jahāngīr. (Plate 202.)

40, Shaikh Shīr Muḥammad Qavvāl. (Plate 198.)

Mīr Muḥammad Hāshim, or Mīr Hāshim.

Portrait of Mīrzā Nauzar. B.M., 18801. p. 41. (Plate 185.)

Portrait of the Physician of Akbar. B.M., 18801. p. 30. (Plate 185.)

Portrait. (Munich Exhibition. Plate 38.)

Portrait of Aurangzīb. (Plate 186.)

Hūnhār.

British Museum, Add. 18801. pp. 6, 9, 11, 19, 24, 29.

Two miniatures in Schulz collection.

Portrait of the son of Shāh Shujā'. De.

Nādir-buland-iqbāl.

Man Hunting, or Sunset. B.N. (Od. 42, 26).

Portrait in the B.N. (Od. 42, 5).

Muḥammad Murād of Samarqand.

Six figures in a garden. De.

Border with figures. (Plate 236). De.

Chitarman or Chitarhan.

British Museum, Add. 18801.

20, 'Alā al-Mulk Tūnī. (Plate 187.)

36, Shā'istah Khān.

37, Ja'far Khān. (Plate 187.)

Govardhan.

British Museum, Add. 18801. pp. 3, 31. The latter forms Plate 195.

'Abd al-Ḥamīd Muṣavvir. A portrait painter mentioned by the Emperor Jahāngīr in his Memoirs (page 18).

Painters in Turkey.

The Turkish writers give the most confused information about three European painters as follows :—

Mastori Paoli (Master Paul, Paolo Uccello?), pupil of the Venetian Damiani. Paoli was the teacher of Sinan Bey, educated at Venice by the Franks. (About A.D. 1450.)

Damiani (Benedetto da Majano?), the Venetian master of Mastori Paoli.

Sinan Bey (Gentile Bellini), brought to the Seraglio in the reign of the Sultan Muḥammad, was a pupil of Mastori Paoli, and was unsurpassed in his particular manner. Was in Constantinople A.D. 1480–1481.

Portrait of Turkish prince. (Plate 225.)

Two drawings. B.M.

A gazelle. F.R.M.

Tājuddīn Girihband, son of Ḥusain, exiled from Aleppo by Salim I. (about A.D. 1520).

Ra'īs Ḥaidar, also called Naqqāsh Ḥaidar (Ḥaidar the painter), known particularly for having painted the portrait of Salim I. (A.D. 1520–1540).

Portraits of Francis I. and Charles V. F.R.M. (Plate 227.)

Portrait of Sultan Salim I. (Plate 227.)

Memi Shāh, from Galata. Probably about the year A.D. 1550.

Ḥasan the Egyptian, who had few equals in his time, and his pupil Ibrāhīm Chelebi.

Ustād Walī Jān, of Tabriz, a pupil of Siyāwush, came to Turkey at the time when 'Alī Efendi wrote his "Manāqib," about A.D. 1580, and was appointed painter to the Court and given a pension. He was extremely vain and proud. Besides carrying on his art as a painter he was also a bookbinder and executed various works in Ṭaraḥ. There is certainly in his works much that is elegant, and the productions of his graceful pen are as carefully executed as those of the ancient masters. Unfortunately

the inconsiderate ardour of youth, and the indiscriminate praises of fools turned his brain, and prevented his acquiring real mastership in his art.

A cupbearer, standing.

A youth drawing a bow. Two drawings in Murād III.'s Album in the Imperial Library at Vienna.

Young prince, signed "Walī." De.

Young lady in blue costume, signed Walī Jān. De.

Portrait of a dervish, signed Walī Jān. F.R.M. (Plate 229.)

Portrait of a lady, signed. Mrs. Sears, Boston. (Plate 229.)

Ḥusain Gīlānī, the Turkish painter, who probably painted :—

The finest portraits of the prophets, the sultans, and the most famous kings, from the time of the Creation to the period of Sulaimān II. (A.D. 1691), in the Silsila-nāmah (genealogical tables) in the Imperial Library at Vienna, 141.

Ibrāhīm Chelebi, son of Begam Muṣṭafā Efendi, from Moula-Gourani, a pupil of Ḥasan, the Egyptian, working at Ḥaidar Pasha, lived about the close of the 18th century.

Ibrāhīm Muzahhib (the gilder) was from Brusa. He learned the calligraphy and the art of drawing ornaments from Muṣṭafā Efendi Imām, of Touz-Bazar. He died A.H. 1160 (A.D. 1747).

Ḥasan Kefeli, pupil of Kamāl, the Persian painter.

Sulaimān Chelebi, pupil of Ḥasan Chelebi, in the time of Sultan Aḥmad III. (A.D. 1703-1730).

Rashīd Muṣṭafā Chelebi, from the Selimiyye quarter of Constantinople, in the time of Sultan Aḥmad III. (A.D. 1703-1730).

Persian Decorators.

Ḥasan of Baghdad, gilder, was at the head of Shāh Tahmāsp's painters' studio. He lived at the commencement of the 16th century, and was a pupil of Muḥammad Qamṭana. His pupil was Muhibb 'Alī from Tabriz.

Ustād Qudrat was a pupil of Muhibb 'Alī and an eminent painter in liquid gold.

Siyāwush, the Georgian was a pupil of the worker in gold, Ustād Ḥasan. Having acquired skill in gilding manuscripts he became enraptured with painting and succeeded admirably in this new departure. He completed his studies by copying the chosen works of certain masters, and created masterpieces of his own. Mihrāb, brother of Ḥasan of Baghdad, was his

pupil and soon became his rival in art. Siyāwush gave lessons to the famous painter, Sulṭān Muḥammad at Tabriz, and had another pupil Ustād Walī Jān, of Tabriz. A third pupil of his was Ibrāhīm Mīrzā.

Mihrāb, see under Siyāwush.

Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, probably the same as Ibrāhīm Khān Īlchī, a pupil of Mīr Muḥammad Mu'izz al-dīn, was governor of the town of Qoum in A.H. 990 (A.D. 1582), when he was despatched to Constantinople in the time of Sultan Murād III. to present the felicitations of the Persian Shah on the occasion of the imperial festivities. He was very fond of specimens of calligraphy that were much ornamented and gilded, and spent vast sums on very small pictures. On a work that he himself copied he employed so much gold and so many colours in ornamenting the margins that everyone who saw it was amazed at it. He was an extraordinary man whose doings have become proverbial in Constantinople.

Ghiyāth al-dīn, of Sabzwār, was a pupil of Mīr Sayyid Aḥmad, and is probably the same artist who is known as Ghiyāth, the worker in gold. He is said to have been the pupil of the painter Mānī, and in calligraphy studied under Sulṭān 'Alī al-Mashhadī. He died in A.H. 1000 (A.D. 1592).

Sharaf al-dīn Yazdī, a brother of Qutb al-dīn Yazdī, was a celebrated artist and a master in the art of working in gold and in Waṣṣali (cartonnage) and similar arts. A collection of his was written in A.H. 900 (A.D. 1494), and profusely ornamented with gold.

Turkish Decorators.

Shiblī-Zāda Aḥmad from Brusa, in Turkey, the chief painter in Turkey of imitation writing (shibh-i-yāzma).

Ṣāliḥ Chelebi.

Amīr Aḥmad.

Aḥmad ibn Ḥasan.

Qara Maḥmūd from the Yeni Bagtche quarter in Constantinople.

'Abdallāh, emancipated by and pupil of Qara Maḥmūd.

Muṣṭafā Ṣurāḥī, a slave and pupil of Qara Maḥmūd.

'Abd al-Raḥmān Chelebi from Brusa.

Osmān, the illuminator.

'Ali the painter, brother-in-law to Osmān the illuminator.

'Ali Chelebi, also called Raughani from Scutari.

Muḥammad Bey.

Qīnjī Maḥmūd (the maker of scabbards).

Muṣṭafā Efendi Imām, of Touz-Bazar.

'Alī from Brusa, the pupil of the former.

'Alī from Brusa, the gilder, was the pupil of Sayyid 'Abdallāh. He was a calligrapher and gilder, and worked in a shop opposite the entrance of St. Sophia. He died A.H. 1137 (A.D. 1735).

Hazār-fann, of Brusa.

'Alī from Adalia.

Persian Painters.

Ustād Sha'bān, was from Asia Minor.

Mīrzā Muzahhib (the worker in gold), was a pupil of Muḥibb 'Alī.

Bukhārān Decorators.

Sulṭān Maḥmūd Bukhārī, one of Mīr 'Alī's pupils, has also left some work in liquid gold.

Sayyid 'Abd al-Ṣamad, from Kāshān, or according to others from Samarqand, was also a master in working in gold and miniatures, *vide* Painters under Shāh 'Abbās.

Mīr Āzād, from Bukhārā, and was one of the masters in the art of working in gold.

Workers in Gold.

Amīn Aḥmad Ustād, during the time of Salim I. (A.D. 1520).

Ḥāfiz Osmān, a very celebrated calligrapher who died A.D. 1699. The profuse ornaments seen in his Qur'āns, of which he made 25 copies, were executed by—

(1) Muḥammad Chelebi, a pupil of Sirkaji, nephew of Ḥāfiz Osmān.

(2) Ḥasan Chelebi Qanbūr.

Notes

1. Kusejr 'Amra, herausgegeben von A. Musil. Wien, Kais. Akad. der Wissenschaften, 1907.

2. Griffiths (J.), The Paintings of the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajanta. 2 vols. 1896–7.

3. In the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin. A great work will soon be published on these remarkable excavations.

4. The best collections are in the Victoria and Albert Museum and in the Kaiser Friedrich-Museum. A work on this subject by an authority on art, who is at the same time an Arabic scholar, would greatly advance our knowledge of early Arabian art.

5. Some of the finest pieces belong to the Comtesse Béarn in Paris, Mrs. Montgomery Sears in Boston, and M. Jacques Doucet in Paris. There are also some in other collections and museums in Europe and America.

6. Karabacek, Ueber das angebliche Bilderverbot des Islams (in "Kunst und Gewerbe," Nürnberg, 1876), a small but very important article by this great connoisseur of old Arabic literature, whose works always form foundation stones. It is to be regretted that his articles are scattered in various art journals and are very difficult to find. A new edition of them collected together would be of great value. Much important information in this book is derived from him.

7. Kremer, Culturgeschichte des Orients. Wien, 1877. Page 301. A most interesting work on old Arabic culture, which ought to be read by everyone interested in the East.

8. Maqrīzī. We hope that this important document will soon be translated.

9. To be found in the collection of Dr. Fouquet in Cairo, in the Cairo Museum, Kaiser Friedrich-Museum, Victoria and Albert Museum, and the Author's collection.

10. Theodor Graf's Antike Porträt Gallerie, Wien.

Samples are found in almost every collection of Egyptian art. All the best are in the Museum at Cairo.

11. Karabacek, Bilderverbot, *ut supra*, page 307.

12. Karabacek, Ueber einige Benennungen mittelalterlicher Gewerbe. Wien, 1882, page 16.

13. To be found in the Museum at Athens, Victoria and Albert Museum, and in the Author's collection.

14. Karabacek, Sarazenische Wappen (Sitzungberichte der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Band 157, 1 Abh.), page 22, fig. 7. Wien, 1907.

Illustrations of similar automata are to be found in

Herone Alessandrino, Degli automati overo Machine se moventi, libri due, tradotti dal greco da Bernardino Baldi. In Venetia, 1601.

Gli artificiosi e curiosi moti spiritali di Herone, tradotti da M. Gio, Battista Aleotti Bologna, 1647.

Blochet, Peintures de manuscrits arabes à types byzantines. Paris, 1907.

Le livre des appareils pneumatiques et machines hydrauliques par Philon de Byzance, traduit par Baron Carra de Vaux. Paris, 1903.

15. Ausstellung der Meisterwerken Muhammedanischer Kunst, München, 1910. 3 vols., 1912. Plates 4 (coloured) and 5.

16. Schlumberger, Un Empereur Byzantin au X^e Siècle, 1890. And also his L'Epopée Byzantine à la fin du X^e Siècle. Paris 1896-1900.

17. Blochet, Peintures. Plate 4.

18. In the exhibition of Persian Miniatures at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs held in Paris in 1912, M. Vignier shewed a manuscript of Kalilah wa Dimnah, dated A.H. 633 (A.D. 1230) with miniatures in which red is the predominant colour. There were also a few leaves of another manuscript of the same work; I do not know if it is dated, but I am not able to hazard a conjecture as to its date, for I have not been able to examine the leaves sufficiently. They have suffered a great deal. M. Kevorkian exhibited a copy of al-Ṭabarī's history of the Caliphs with 8 miniatures, which seems to have been copied at the end of the Caliphate from earlier pictures. A fragment of an early Dioscorides was also shewn by M. Vignier.

19. Ausstellung, München, 1910. Plate 159.

20. In an article in the October (1912) number of the *Burlington Magazine*, M. Claude Anet tries to prove that these miniatures date from the middle of the 14th century, thus continuing the error of M. Blochet. Neither has ever studied the long protocol inscription which dates the leaves (see Ausstellung, München, Plate 3). It would indeed be a unique occurrence in the history of the East if an artist in Cairo knew the exact titles of a petty feudatory of Saladin living in Upper Mesopotamia 165 years after he was dead, and at the same time be ignorant of the titles of his own sovereign whose name he did not write exactly. He must, moreover, have been so learned in the history of architecture that he knew the architecture which prevailed in Egypt 165 years before his time, but not that of his own time, and still further, he dared to represent figures at a time when they were strictly forbidden. The fact that he did not know the titles of his own sovereign could easily have resulted in his head being cut off. Furthermore, he knew and utilised the old colours and the old gold which had disappeared after the Mongol invasion. What a wonderful man he must have been!

21. Schmoranz, Altarabische Glasgefässe, Wien. English translation, Quaritch, 1899, and Ausstellung zu München, Plates 167–176. Two extraordinarily fine fragments belong to Kalebdjian frères, of Paris.

22. Dioscorides, Codex Aniciae Julianae picturis illustratus, nunc Vindobonensis Med. gr. 1, phototypice editus. . . . Praefati sunt Antonius de Premerstein, Carolus Wessely, Josephus Mantuani, 2 vols. folio, *Lugd. Batav*, 1906.

25. Enormous quantities of the Sultanabad pottery have been placed on the Paris market.

26. A reproduction of all the miniatures in the Edinburgh portion, as well as that in the R.A.S. Library, will soon be published by M. Blochet and the Author.

27. Blochet, Peintures, Plates 5–10.

28. Argota de Molina, Historia del gran Tamorlan, e itinerario y enarracion del viage y relacion de la embaxada que Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo le hizo. . . . Sevilla, 1582. The author of the book was really Clavijo who died during his ambassadorship. Argota de Molina was only the editor.

Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Timour at Samarqand, A.D. 1403–1406, London; 1859, Hakluyt Society.

29. Also reproduced in F. R. Martin, Oriental Carpets. Vienna, 1908, Fig. 65, and Ausstellung zu München, Plate 17.

30. Ausstellung zu München, Plate 16.

31. B.M. (Add. 27261). All the borders of this manuscript ought to be published as they are of the greatest importance.

32. This manuscript is described in the third volume of Mr. Yates Thompson's Illustrations of One Hundred Manuscripts (privately printed).

33. Memoirs of Bābar, translated by J. Leyden and W. Erskine, 4to; London, 1826.

34. Communicated by Professor K. F. W. Müller, director of the Museum für Völkerkunde Berlin.

35. Ausstellung zu München, Plate 23.

36. During a visit this summer (1912) to Constantinople I had a long talk with the authorities about this important album, which is deposited in the old Seraglio, and it is not impossible that a reproduction of its most important drawings will be published. A short description of it by van Berchem is to be found in the Ausstellung zu München, page 13. Some miniatures from the volume are reproduced on Plates 6, 8, 14 and 15 of that work.

37. Blochet, Les écoles de peinture en Perse, 1905.

38. Ausstellung zu München, Plates 189–199.

39. The finest examples are in the R. Koechlin Collection in Paris, in the British Museum, and Sultig Collection.

40. Ausstellung zu München, Plate 24.

41. The photographs reproduced were taken with the special permission of Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamid by the Author himself, in a very poorly lighted room in the monastery.

42. Communicated to me by Mr. A. Ellis, of the India Office.

43. Bābar's Memoirs, *Op. cit.*

44. Ausstellung zu München, Plate 24.

45. Some of the miniatures are copied after originals from the early Timurid School. He has even copied the harmony of colours.

46. One is reproduced in Karabacek, Riẓā 'Abbāsī, Plate III.

47. Hans Memling. By W. J. H. Weale, 1909. Memling: Des Meisters Gemälde in 197 Abbildungen. Herausgegeben von Karl Voll. Stuttgart, 1909.

48. Gruyer (F. A.), Les quarante Fouquet (dans les Heures d'Estienne Chevalier à Chantilly). Paris, 1897.

49. Blochet, Peintures, Plates 15–18.

50. Blochet, Peintures, Plates 19–22.

51. Blochet, Peintures, Plates 25–27.

52. This manuscript was offered to me on my first visit to Constantinople in 1896. I offered £200 for it, which the owner refused. A few months afterwards he sold it to the British Museum for about a quarter of the price I offered for it. Such are the Orientals.

53. This name was given to me by Sir Charles H. Read.

54. Gonzalez de Clavijo. *Op. cit. ut supra, No. 28.*

55. The Arabic geographer who lived at the end of the 9th century.

56. *Vide* Kremer, Culturgeschichte. Wein, 1877, Band 1, pages 310, etc.

57. A dinar was worth 10 francs, but considering the rise in the value of money, at the present time would be equal to ten times more. The same was the case with the gold mohur.

58. Now deposited in the Museum Alexander III. at St. Petersburg. The photographs were received too late to be reproduced in this work.

59. Some of them are published in the Hungarian Review, "Müveszi Ipar," Budapest, 1888.

60. In Flügel's catalogue, Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften des K. K. Hofbibliothek zu Wien, printed 1865, is a description, pages 76–81, of the album, but without touching on its artistic qualities. As it is several years since I saw it I cannot go into details, but we hope that the present director, Dr. J. von Karabacek, will soon publish it, as it has already been such a long time reserved for him.

61. The signatures of Sulṭān Muḥammad form part of the decoration, so there can be no doubt about their genuineness. The manuscript, which was exposed at Paris in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs during the summer, 1912, now belongs to M. Sambon.

62. Karabacek in his article on Riẓā 'Abbāsī, illustrated on Plates 6 and 8 two miniatures which he attributes to Āqā Riẓā, but I hardly believe them to be by this master.

63. The silk with black ground in the Rosenborg Castle at Copenhagen, published by the Author in Die persischen Prachtstoffe im Schlosse Rosenborg in Kopenhagen. Stockholm, 1901.

64. See page 103.

65. Especially in some of the carpets exhibited by the Bavarian Court.

66. This will form a separate publication by Professor Sarre. I have therefore not been able to reproduce some of his very interesting drawings.

67. In the Elzevir edition of "Persia seu regni persici status," Leiden, 1633, are six woodcuts after miniatures of the Riẓā school.

68. Chardin, Voyages en Perse. 10 vols., 8vo. Paris, 1811.

69. Hanway, The Revolutions of Persia. London, 1744. Vol. II., pages 323 and 402, gives a good description of these enormous treasures.

70. Hofstede de Groot was the first who pointed out this fact. Professor Sarre worked it out in two very interesting articles published 1904 and 1909 in the Jahrbücher der K. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen.

71. I think it represents the dying Jahāngīr.

72. Karabacek, Riẓā 'Abbāsī, pages 45, 46. The Victoria and Albert Museum and many dealers have leaves of this enormous work.

73. Havell, Indian Sculpture and Painting. London, 1908. Plates 61 and 62 are two fine examples of his art.

74. Sarre, Jahrbücher der K. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen, 1906.

75. I have quite recently found a Persian miniature in a copy of the Shāh Nāmah executed for Sultan Murād III., A.D. 1574–1598, which certainly is a copy after one of these paintings. It will probably be published by V. Goloubeff.

76. These will be reproduced later in a handbook on Persian Ceramics. Several pieces of the same kind are probably coming to Europe.

77. These will be published in a work dealing with the influence of the East upon the mediaeval art of Sweden. They belong to the famous Swedish painter, Anders Zorn.

78. The prayer book of Maximilian was reproduced and edited by K. Giellow, Wien, 1907.

79. Some of the finest leaves of this kind outside Turkey belong to Mr. Zander in Berlin. Ausstellung zu München, Plates 35 and 36.

80. Huart, Les calligraphes et les miniaturistes de l'Orient musulman. Paris, 1908, page 6.

81. Kremer, Culturgeschichte des Orients. Wien, 1877, Band 1.

82. Huart, Les calligraphes et les miniaturistes de l'Orient musulman. Paris, 1908. This book has been of great service to the Author.
Havell, Indian Sculpture and Painting. London, 1908. From which a great part of this chapter is taken.

83. I have quite recently acquired leaves from the Koran which was written on blue vellum by order of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn for the tomb of his father, Hārūn al-Rashīd, at Meshhed, where he is buried under the same dome as Imām Riẓā, who was poisoned by al-Ma'mūn, A.D. 817.

84. Bartolomeus Shahman, dated A.D. 1599, with 103 water-colours after nature. This interesting manuscript, which belongs to the Author, will be published.

List of Abbreviations of Owners' Names

A.D.	Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Paris.
B.I.V.	Imperial Library, Vienna.
B.L.	Bodleian Library, Oxford.
B.M.	British Museum.
B.N.	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
B.Q.	Mr. Bernard Quaritch.
C.A.	M. Claude Anet, Paris.
Ch.R.	Sir Charles H. Read, London.
Ch.V.	M. Charles Vignier, Paris.
C.R.	Mr. Charles Ricketts, London.
D.	M. Ducoté, Paris.
De.	M. Demotte, Paris.
D.P.	Mr. Dyson Perrins, Malvern.
F.G.	Fairfax Gallery, London.
F.R.M.	Author's Collection.
F.S.	Dr. F. Sarre, Berlin.
G.	M. Gulbenhian, Paris.
H.V.	M. Henry Vever, Paris.
I.M.	Indian Museum, London.
J.D.	M. Jacques Doucet, Paris.
J.G.	Mr. Jack Gardner, Boston.
Ke.	M. Kevorkian, London.
Kh.L. C.	Khedivial Library, Cairo.
L.	Musée du Louvre, Paris.
L.C.	M. Louis Cartier, Paris.
M.S.	Mrs. Montgomery Sears, Boston.
R.	M. L. Rosenberg, Paris.
R.K.	M. Raymond Koechlin, Paris.
S.	M. Stoclet, Bruxelles.
St.P.	Imperial Library, St. Petersburg.
T.	Tabbagh frères, Paris.
V.A.M.	Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
V.G.	M. Victor Goloubeff, Paris.
W.S.	M. Walter Schulz, Berlin.

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SKETCH CHART

OF

SYNCHRONOLOGY

EUROPE.	EGYPT, ETC.	PERSIA.	TRANSOXIANA.	INDIA.	CHINA.
Clotaire II, A.D. 613–628.	Hijra or Flight of Muḥammad, A.D. 622.	Khusrau, A.D. 591–628. Fall of Sāsānid Empire. Battle of Nahawand, A.D. 642			T'ang Dynasty, A.D. 618–906.
	OMAYYAD CALIPHS, A.D. 661–750.				
		ʿAbd al-Malik, A.D. 685–705. Walīd, A.D. 705–715.			
Fall of Toledo, A.D. 712. Battle of Tours, A.D. 732.					
	ABBASID CALIPHS, A.D. 750–1258.				
Charlemagne, A.D. 768–814.		Hārūn al-Rashīd, A.D. 786–809. Ma'mūn, A.D. 813–833.			Wu Tao-tsu.
		TĀHIRIDS, A.D. 820–872. Ṭāhir Dhū 'l-Yaminayn, A.D. 820–822.			
		SAFFARIDS, Ya'qūb ibn Layth, A.D. 868–878.			
Alfred the Great, A.D. 871–900.		**SAMANIDS**, A.D. 874–999. Ismā'īl ibn Aḥmad, A.D. 892–907.			Sung Dynasty, A.D. 960–1279.
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, A.D. 912–961.					
William the Conqueror, A.D. 1066–1087. *Bayeux Tapestry.* First Crusade, A.D. 1095.	**FATIMIDS**, A.D. 909–1171. *Ḥarīrī*, † A.D. 1122.	**GHAZNAVIDS**, A.D. 962–1186. Yamīn al-daula Maḥmūd, A.D. 998–1030. *Firdausī*, † A.D. 1020.			
	AYYUBIDS, A.D. 1171–1250. Ṣalāḥ al-dīn (Saladin), A.D. 1169–1193. (*Schefer's Ḥarīrī*, A.D. 1243.)	**SELJUKS**, A.D. 1037–1157. Ṭughril Beg, A.D. 1037–1063. Malik Shāh, A.D. 1072–1092. Sinjar, A.D. 1117–1157.			*Li Lung-mien*, † A.D. 1106.
		KHWĀRIZM SHAHS, A.D. 1150–1231. ʿAlā al-dīn Muḥammad, A.D. 1199–1220. *Niẓāmī*, † A.D. 1200 (?)		**GHORIDS**, A.D. 1148–1215.	
Cimabue, 1240–1300.	**MAMLUK SULTANS**, A.D. 1252–1517.	CHINGIZ KHĀN, A.D. 1175–1227.			
Dante, 1265–1321.				**SULTANS OF DEHLI**, A.D. 1206–1526.	
Giotto, 1266–1337.	**TURKEY.**	**MONGOLS**, A.D. 1227–1349.	Chagatāy, A.D. 1227–1242.		Ogotāy, A.D. 1227–1241. Khubilāy, A.D. 1257–1294.
	ʿOthmān, 1299–1326.	Hūlāgū A.D. 1256–1265. Conquest of Baghdad, A.D. 1258. *Saʿdī*, † A.D. 1291.			Yüan Dynasty, A.D. 1280–1367.
Petrarch, 1304–1374.	Orkhān, 1326–1360.			Taghlak Shāh, A.D. 1320–1324.	*Marco Polo* cir. 1275.
Chaucer, 1328–1400.					
Fra Angelico, 1387–1455.	Murād, 1360–1389.	**TIMURIDS**, A.D. 1369–1494.			
J. Van Eyck, 1390–1440.	Bāyazīd, 1389–1402.	Timūr, A.D. 1369–1404. Shāh Rukh, A.D. 1404–1447. Bāisunghar, A.D. 1433. *Ḥāfiẓ*, † A.D. 1388.			Ming Dynasty, A.D. 1368–1643.
Invention of Printing, 1450.					
Fall of Constantinople, 1453.	Muḥammad II, 1451–1481.				
Ghirlandaio, 1449–1494.	Bāyazīd II, 1481–1512.				
	OTHMĀNLĪ SULTANS, A.D. 1517.	Sulṭān Ḥusain Mirzā † A.D. 1506.			

EUROPE.	TURKEY, EGYPT, ETC.	PERSIA.	TRANSOXIANA.	INDIA.	CHINA.
Bellini, 1427–1516.					
Botticelli, 1447–1510.	**OTHMĀNLĪ SULTANS,** A.D. 1517.				
Leonardo da Vinci, 1452–1519.	Salim I, A.D. 1512–1520.	**SAFAVID SHAHS,** A.D. 1502–1736.	**SHAYBĀNIDS,** A.D. 1500–1599.	*Vasco da Gama sails to India*, 1497.	
Lorenzo de Medici, 1470–1492.					Ming Dynasty, A.D. 1368–1643.
Hans Holbein, 1498–1550.		Ismā'īl I, A.D. 1502–1524.	Muḥammad Shaybāni, 1500–1510.		
A. Dürer, 1471–1528.	Sulaimān I (the Great), 1520–1566.	*Bihzād*, † A.D. 1524.		**MUGHAL EMPERORS,** A.D. 1526–1857.	
Raphael, 1483–1520.			'Abd al-Laṭīf, 1540–1551.	Bābar, A.D. 1525–1530.	
Michel Angelo, 1475–1564.			('Abd al-'Azīz, 1540–1549.) Sikandar, 1560–1583.	Humāyūn, A.D. 1530–1556.	
Charles V, 1500–1558.	Salim II, 1566–1574.	Ṭahmāsp I, A.D. 1524–1576.			
Titian, 1477–1576.		*Āghā Mirak.*		Akbar, A.D. 1556–1605.	
Elizabeth, 1558–1603.	Murād III, 1574–1595.				
Shakspere, 1564–1616.	Aḥmad I, 1603–1617. Murād IV, 1623–1640.	*Sulṭān Muḥammad.*		*Basāwan.*	
Louis XIII, 1610–1643.	Muḥammad IV, 1648–1687.	'Abbās I, A.D. 1587–1629.		*First E. I. Co. founded*, A.D. 1600. Jahāngīr, A.D. 1605–1627.	
Van Dyck, 1599–1641.		*Riḍā 'Abbāsi.*	**JĀNIDS,** A.D. 1599–1785.	*Manṣūr.* Shāh Jahān, A.D. 1627–1659.	
Louis XIV, 1643–1715.		'Abbās II, A.D. 1642–1667.		Aurangzīb, A.D. 1659–1707.	Tsing Dynasty, A.D. 1643.
Rembrandt, 1607–1679.		Sulaimān, A.D. 1667–1694.		Shāh-'Ālam, A.D. 1707–1712.	
Louis XV, 1715–1774.	Aḥmad III, 1703–1730.	Ḥusain I, 1694–1722.			
Watteau, 1684–1721.					
Sir J. Reynolds, 1723–1792.		**AFSHĀRIDS,** A.D. 1736.		Sack of Dehli, A.D. 1739.	
Louis XVI, 1774–1793.		Nādir Shāh, A.D. 1736–1747.		Battle of Plassey, A.D. 1757.	

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